Periodical

APRIL, 1934

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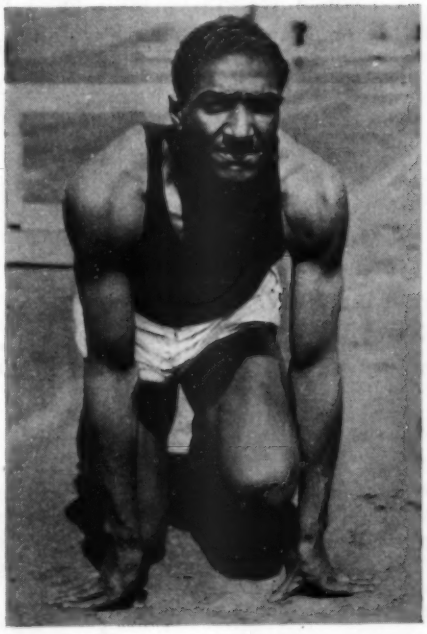
THE CRISIS

A RECORD OF THE DARKER RACES

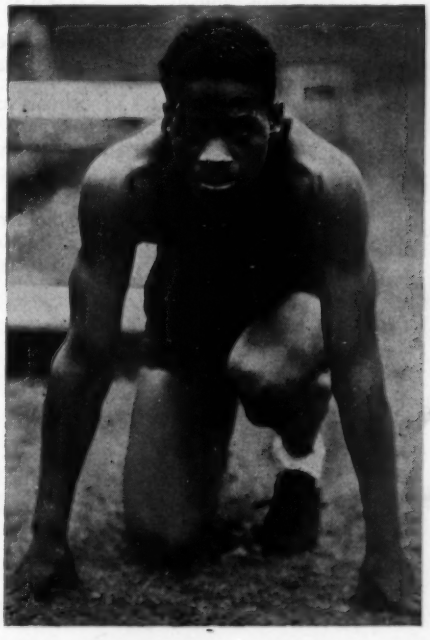


RECALLING 1906

By J. B. Watson

WOMAN AMONG THE SOVIETS

By Henry Lee Moon



ON YOUR MARK—GET SET!

By Cecil G. Cooke

THE WEAVER CASE

FISK AND FLORY

SCHOOL EXECUTIVES:—Random Types

By Gustavus Adolphus Steward

New Home Office Building

SOUTHERN AID SOCIETY OF VA., INC.

is proud of the good will and confidence which leaders of both races repose in it. The following letter from this nationally-known divine reflects the attitude of thousands of people toward this Company:

REV. W. H. JERNAGIN, D. D.
1341 Third Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

November 25, 1933.

SOUTHERN AID SOCIETY OF VA., INC.
Richmond, Virginia

Gentlemen:

I have read your ad relative to the status of your company and its appeal to mothers and fathers to cooperate in providing present and future employment for our young men and women. I think it is a very fine idea that your organization has advanced, and it should receive liberal response from members of our group, for unless we turn our attention toward developing our own enterprises, we are going to find ourselves in a much worse condition than we are today and there will be an increase in crimes from idleness.

Graduates of Schools and Colleges should be proud to have employment as agents, clerks, stenographers, superintendents, managers and officers in a substantial company like the Southern Aid Society of Virginia which has had a continuous existence for forty-one years, because so many companies of both races have fallen by the wayside. The fine strength of your company as evidenced by its reserve, capital, surplus and cash position assures both the policyholders and the employees that their protection and employment have a safe foundation. I therefore recommend your company not only to the members of my congregation, but to the public in general in the field in which it operates.

Yours for continued success,

(Signed) W. H. JERNAGIN

• • •

Southern Aid Society of Virginia, Inc.

HOME OFFICE: THIRD AND CLAY STREETS, RICHMOND, VA.

LIFE, HEALTH and ACCIDENT INSURANCE

Operating in Virginia and the District of Columbia

THE CRISIS

Founded 1910

REG. U. S. PAT. OFF

A Record of the Darker Races

W. E. Burghardt Du Bois, *Editor-in-Chief*

George W. Streator, Roy Wilkins } ***Managing Editors***

AS THE CROW FLIES

We have been waiting patiently for sometime to hear from all those distinguished colored men recently incarcerated in Roosevelt's New Deal. Where are they? What are they doing? What are their plans? For God's sake, say something! It's cold and silent out here.

•

Just sit down and let your eye run over the salaries paid big executives by huge American corporations and remember that you are paying these salaries out of your day's work. Who, then, is best able to pay the taxes? These Incomes or the Sales of your bread and butter?

•

What service today commands the largest pay? Restoring health? Feeding the hungry? Clothing the ragged? Lighting the darkness? Teaching ignorance? or monopolizing natural resorces by theft, lying and murder? Now ask me one.

•

Jews are colonizing Zion and Russia to escape insult and oppression. Negroes are afraid to colonize even separate farms. No segregation from my white folks, sing the cook, the porter and the scavenger.

•

Watch, colored America, with beating heart, the first fateful step toward a new united Asia. When the Emperor, Kang Teh, mounts the imperial throne and joins Japan and Manchuria in one white world-defying state.

•

Talk about principles and all that junk; have you ever seen any such flopping as Europe and America have done and are doing in their attitude toward Japan? "Over my dead body," yells Stimson. And over his dead body we are proceeding to recognize Manchuria just as fast as decency will let us.

•

When the Sage Foundation recognizes the utter collapse of capitalism, it is time for Saint Russell to climb right out of his grave and get back on this mad earth.

•

We are torn between a desire to call Dollfuss of Austria mad as a March hare, or just an April fool.

Those who are disposed today to put all their chips on Fascism, should go to the nearest palmist and consult Rameses the Great, Alexander, Cleopatra, C. J. Caesar, and Mr. Napoleon Boneparte, on the chances of success for tyrants in this world and the next.

•

What Adolph Hitler really represents is the failure of particularism, the contradiction of peace that is war, and the fear of brains and ability under a different skin.

•

Under the Aegis of the New Deal, the white South is beating the Negro out of his eye teeth by the use of Federal funds. And the Negro, well he reminds us of that delicious story of the races standing before God:

"What will you have?"

"Gold," answers the white man.

"Power," answers the yellow man.

"Peace," answers the brown man.

"Happy Hunting Grounds," answers the red man.

But the black man merely smiles deprecratingly: "Nuttin', Nuttin'. I'se jest sorta lookin' 'round."

•

What the real France is saying is something like this: Whoever pays for recovery in this land, it is not going to be the poor worker, the poor civil servant, or the peasant. It's going to be some of the guys who stole with Stavinsky and made him the goat.

•

The Spanish situation may seem complicated, but it's all very simple. The big land owners and the Catholic Church are on their fat backs, but they've got a stranglehold on the dumb people, and are gouging out their eyes. Wherefore, the end is not yet.

•

There is one thing that India can do, and that is wait. And the longer those hundreds of millions of slow, inscrutable brown folk gaze England in the eye, the surer is the title, Emperor of India, an empty bauble.

•

Old adages do not always hold. England nigh monopolizes world news distribution. Cuba does not. No news from England is bad news. No news from Cuba is good news.

•

It must have been real relief for poor King Albert to be alone long enough to die.

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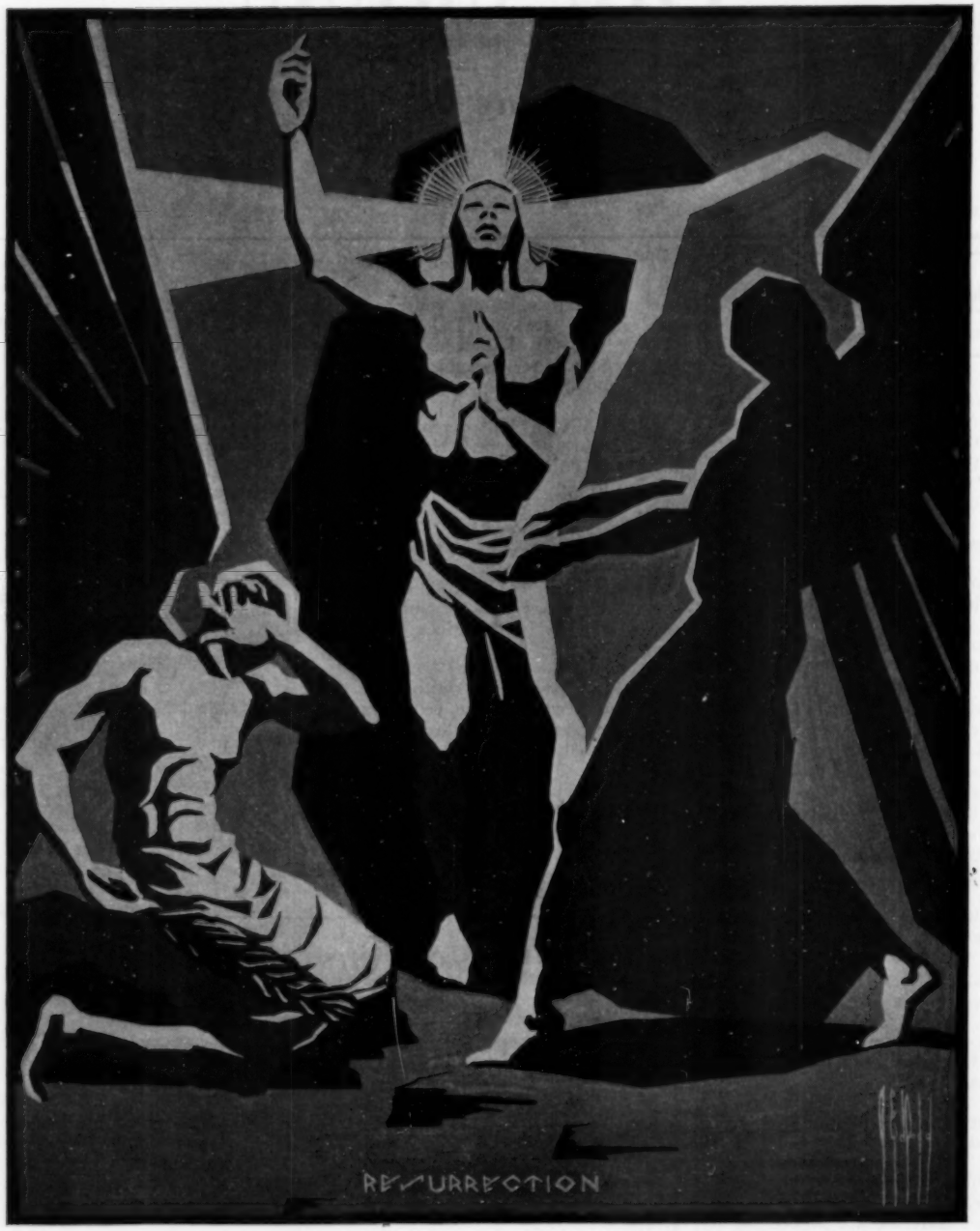


"And, behold, there was a great earthquake: for the angel of the Lord descended from heaven, and came and rolled back the stone from the door, and sat upon it.

"His countenance was like lightning, and his raiment white as snow:

"And for fear of him the keepers did shake, and became as dead men."

The Poet's Corner

Nocturne in a Lynch Town

By Herbert Henegan

I SAW the blackened gutter-stones
Beneath the tree—a bending elm—
That seemed to droop in sorrow,
Or was it shame? Where
His ravaged body fell
Half-naked to the flame.
"Was this to be my destiny;"
I thought I heard this raped tree
Ask itself, "And was my end to be
An agent and accomplice
Of this mad mob's fury?"
A gentle wind was humming low
And tried to comfort this outraged
Tree with a primeval elegy.
I wondered too, as I saw the
Strewn debris—grim fragments from
The wood that once had been his pyre—
What spoke the gods among themselves
Upon Olympus?
Did they have Prometheus brought
Upon their hill so he could see
What savagery his theft had wrought
To earth-bound monsters
Clothed in humanity?
I thought I heard the black boy scream
again
To the howling multitude as they
Dragged him madly to the limb:
"Please let me speak a word to
tell. . ."
But one pale fist fell to his face,
Cleaving thought—a last request—
Before they sent his tortured soul
To paradise or hell.

It wasn't long.
Malignant flames, leaped hungrily
About the oil-drenched body swinging
From this tree.
The fiends roared up their glee
At this macabre end of one
Black wretch who never had a chance
To fend himself
In courts of law
Or with his arm against
The monsters in those men.
What said the Fates among themselves
When the sickening stench of
Human flesh on fire filled up
Their nostrils?
Did they, in some wild orgy,
Before the birth of Time,
Design this brutal end to this
Black boy accused of crime?
All in the street was hushed.
Dawn, two hours away, was running fast
Upon swift feet of light, but the heavens
Were still in mourning
In a sombre robe of night.
There were no stars.
A tender rain was falling on this scene
Of awful death.
It seemed as if the gods were weeping,
But not alone for the harvest
Of the mob's grim yield
At rest—in potter's field.

Stanzas from Shadows of Dreams: A Proem

By R. Rose Drake

AH! . . . . . and it did seem
somewhere—'twixt here and there—
as in a dream . . . . .
An Angel, winging through veils of
memory and mists of night,
my agony did see . . . . .
And poised, pinioned in flight,
playing a harpsichord
that lifted me!

Then soaring upward . . . . .
. . . . . the Angel . . . . .
remembering me dumb and blind
did drop the harpsichord
for me to find:
and I did rise to play
with melody divine . . . .

With joy I wept . . . . . with rapture sung
till came the Dawn:
With stirring half-forgotten things
giv'n in birth . . . . .
Lifting in matchless beauty
God's shadow from the earth!

Frail violets that opened sleepy eyes
Of start-dust drifted from some
paradise. . . . . .

Fair buttercups with dewdrops on their
lips,—
A sacrament Aurora stoops and sips.

I leaped and kissed the fingers of the
Dawn
That swept the skies before the stars were
born!

Burst from my cell of dark—
Shed of my lowly state:
Like some impetuous prayer
Winged on a light
too vast to emulate! . . . .

Song

I SANG about a flame within a flame;
My eyes beheld a light writ in
A Name . . . . .

The sunbeams strung from heaven became
a lyre;
My soul encased in dust became a fire!

Echoes of dreams were like a music sweet
Shadows of dreams . . . ..like incense at
my feet. . . . . .

Golgotha—1933

(For Heywood Patterson)

By Harvey M. Williamson

THREE times and each the slow reply:
"We find him guilty of this crime."
Three times—and each the hard-mouthed
lie.

The sharp jest often dulls with time;
This mockery retains its thrill.
The cast is proved, the farce sublime.

So he shall climb his bitter hill
Bearing our cross and crown of grief.
And they will come to laugh their fill,

To hear him taunted by the thief.

Portrait of a Matron

By Antonia Y. Schwab

THESE hands,
Eager to grasp, were once as fragile
flowers
The chiselled lips are mute,
Hardened by hours
Of wisdom, and the word unsaid.
Worldliness has set
Its seal upon the narrow eyes,
Heavy with taunt,
With lies.
So let no lover come here to appease
The spirit's thirst,
Seek here
More than a casual lust,
Or try to rend this cryptic veil apart.
These lips will only tease
And hide the inscrutable heart.

"I Pity You People"

By Jonathan Henderson Brooks

"I PITY you people," she said.
And I bowed my head
And was silent before her.
Pity us?
(My heart was moved to answer.)
I would have said to her:
"Lady,
We do not need your pity . . .
But, if you would give us something,
Let there be mercy steeped in charity
towards us;
And may God pity us!"

On Your Mark—Get Set!

By CECIL G. COOKE

MADISON SQUARE GARDEN, New York City, February 24, 1934. Five o'clock one of the coldest evenings of the winter. Electric lights at the Eighth Avenue entrance announced the American Indoor Track and Field Championships. Two lines—restless—jovial—stretched snake-like from the balcony door on Fiftieth Street to Eighth and Ninth Avenues, waiting impatiently for the doors to open at six.

"Popcorn, peanuts, candy, folks. Popcorn, peanuts and candy. Five cents on the outside, ten cents inside. Buy now. Save money."

The stamping of feet on the icy sidewalk. The clapping of hands. "Gosh, it's cold, isn't it?" "You bet! Who ever heard of such weather in New York?"

A cry broke from the crowd. "Hey! Don't let that guy slip in there!" A rush. The man picked himself up from the curb, recovered his hat from the street and brushed the snow off his coat. "O. K. O. K!" He trotted off to the end of the line now rounding the corner.

There was a sudden move foreward. The doors were open. A scurry up long flights of iron-railed stairs. A fight for seats. "Popcorn, hot dogs, cold drinks, candy—ten cents." Cigarette smoke. The crowd thawed out and settled down to wait.

At six-forty-five a few athletes began to warm up. The crowd roused from its apathy and cheered mildly. Negro athletes could be seen here and there in multi-colored sweat-suits bearing insignias of various clubs and colleges. Most of the activities were now centered around the broad jump runway, the site of the first event on the program.

Soon the officials, dressed uniformly in tuxedos and derbies, began calling the names of the contestants. Owens, the Ohio State freshman, stood at the start of the runway. At a signal from the head official, he galloped down the thirty yard straightaway, hurled his bronze body through the smoky air and landed in the sawdust near the end of the pit. The gallery yelled. The judges measured the distance and noted the figures. The meet was on!

Sixteen thousand track fans acclaimed the youthful Buck Eye freshman when it was announced that his winning leap was 25 feet, 3¼ inches, bettering the old standard set by DeHart Hubbard in 1926 by 7¾ inches. Incidentally, the colored lads made a clean sweep of it in this event, for Peacock of Temple University was second with a jump of 24 feet 3¼ inches; John Brooks, unattached, of Chicago, was third with 23 feet 11¾ inches; and Ted Smith, the defending champion, of the Millrose A. A., was fourth with a jump of 23 feet 6½ inches.

By this time the oval track was crowded with athletes. "There goes Marty of Fresno State, California. There's Johnny Morris of Louisiana. There's Cunningham of Kansas. And Bonthron of Princeton. *Ah! There's Metcalfe.*" Where?" "The big fellow in the brown sweatsuit jogging forward on the straightaway!" The stars were out!

The Olympic Mile in which Glen Cunningham defeated Bill Bonthron by three inches, did not create as thrilling a finish as did the 60 meter sprint final. Ralph Metcalfe, of Marquette University, who was left at the mark, came through with a terrific drive to win over Ben Johnson, the colored lad from Columbia University, by a couple of feet.

In the heats, quarter and semi-finals, Alfred Hicks, unattached, from Boston, was eliminated, and Metcalfe, Johnson, Jesse Owens, and Sam Maniaci (white), Columbia University, survived for the final. They lined up as follows: Johnson, Maniaci, Metcalfe and Owens. As Johnny McHugh, veteran starter, commanded, "On your marks!" the spectators held their breaths. One could hear a pin drop. Metcalfe was the last to get down. "Get set! Stand up!" Maniaci broke. The others, with the exception of Metcalfe, jogged forward.

The boys were nervous. Metcalfe was cool. In fact, too cool. He shook his legs a little, and then waited for the others. They lined up again—took their marks—got set—and, like a flash, Johnson was off at the crack of the starter's gun, with Owens, Maniaci and Metcalfe in close pursuit. Metcalfe was three feet back of the leaders at the 20 meter mark. Then he began climbing—his powerful body pumping out every ounce of energy. At 40 meters he came abreast of Johnson and Owens, and, with a tremendous burst of speed, he plunged forward, the winner by two feet. Owens seemed to have caught Johnson; but the judges came out of a huddle with a decision in favor of the Columbia freshman. Maniaci, the bounding gridiron star, was fourth. The winning time was 6.7 seconds, equalling the world's record made by Metcalfe and Emmett Toppino of Loyola College in Louisiana a year ago.

In the 600 meters, Calvin Beckett of Marquette University, qualified for the final, but was unplaced in the mad rush at the finish by Milton Sandler of the German-American A. C., Glen Hardin of Louisiana State College, and Arnold Adams from Worcester, Mass., who finished in the above order.

Young Fritz Pollard, Brown freshman, and winner of the 45 yards hurdles the preceding week in Boston, met with unusual misfortune when he fell over the first hurdle in the 65 meters timber topping race. He got up, however, and finished. This exhibition displayed the same gameness which his father, All-American halfback two decades ago, possessed during his football career at Brown. John Collier, himself formerly of Brown University, and the tutor of young Fritz, was the winner in 6.8 seconds.

MIDNIGHT. World records had been equalled and shattered. Negro athletes from various parts of the country had shared in the plaudits of the fans who witnessed the American Indoor Track and Field Championships at Madison Square Garden, New York City, February 24, 1934.

Jesse Owens of Ohio State University
He sets a new record

A Journey to Texas and New Orleans

By W. E. B. DuBOIS

IN mid-February, I was asked to visit Texas to lecture for the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, and I went because I wanted to see Texas again, after thirteen years, and to look at some Reconstruction data in New Orleans. I rode from Atlanta to New Orleans on a Pullman and reached the city just at the beginning of the carnival but could not stop and hurried on. From New Orleans to Houston, I rode in the "Jim-crow" car; clean and fairly comfortable. Southwestern Louisiana surprises one by its extent and the evidence of its old agriculture and semi-tropical vegetation. We crossed the Mississippi by ferry. It was a troubled flood of grey and yellowish brown, touched with morning gold and dusky with night.

At Houston, I was met by an automobile and whisked forty miles north to Prairie View. This state Negro school looks like a small town with its forty-one buildings, clustered on a prairie, lighted by its own electric light plant and heated by its own steam. The buildings were a bit crowded, and varied from a few that are old and poorly constructed to others new and even beautiful. But above its buildings and its great mechanical plant, its new dormitories and recitation halls, is a sense of organization. I had but a three-day glimpse of the school but I got a distinct feeling of things going steadily forward under competent, purposive and intelligent direction. I sat with Principal Banks and his Cabinet, the thirteen men who direct all the different activities of the school, and under whom the faculty and teachers work. It was a quiet meeting, with frank interchange of information and ideas, and especially with a good spirit, with no evidence of the sort of sulking and under-current of opposition that one finds especially in state schools, and often in others. Mr. Banks was called out for fifteen minutes or more. The proceedings went right on without a break. Then, later, I tried to answer questions for all the teachers and their families. There were questions and opinions and differences of opinion. It was a lively hour. There are, of course, problems at Prairie View, and economic problems. The students can draw less and less upon their parents. The state appropriations must suffer cuts or certainly not receive needed expansion. But the budget is always carefully and meticulously balanced. But beyond that how is this college and industrial school going to train for actual work? Its teachers of economics, on the whole, are reactionary. They are teaching Carver and Harvard and Eastern Capitalism. The teachers of industry are making brooms and mattresses and boxes and tables, but not on a commercial scale, and one doubts if this old program can ever fit modern and changing technique. In mechanics and electricity, there is more hope, but there are also more trade unions with their color bar.

The work in health and home economics faces a much more practical program. The hospital is under-staffed but efficient and has its color problem, when the white people round about want service from the colored doctors. A health survey of the colored schools of the whole county is being carried out and other surveys planned. A visit to Prairie View is an adventure.

My audience in Houston packed seven hundred or more persons in the Odd Fellows Hall. This building occupying half a block, and another half-block occupied by the United Brothers of Friendship, are owned by the colored people. They had the sense to buy them outright and when the depression came there was no mortgage. Other buildings owned by colored groups were lost. The audience was enlivened by a band of high school girls in blue uniform with shakoes and a drum major. They listened hard and quietly for an hour to an economic history of the late 19th and early 20th century.

There is a Y. W. C. A. in close collaboration with the white branch and with some sympathetic inter-racialism. There was a luncheon where everybody agreed in praising Houston, mentioning some excellent things that the colored people had done, but was lauding the white city somewhat to my alarm. It may all be quite true, for there were some evidences of cordial relationship between the white and colored city. But the color line showed wide and clear through this famous commercial capital which has stolen the former pre-eminence of Galveston by digging a forty-mile ditch and sailing steamers straight up to the heart of the city.

I am not sure that I have quite a clear idea of the colored theology in Houston and Texas. There is a great deal of every-day talk, implying personal acquaintance with God and minute knowledge of the plan of salvation. I went to the colored city preachers' meeting. There were some intelligent men there, but a great deal of oratory and some statements that I could not fathom. One well-dressed and well-educated man who replied to my rather halting remarks, made a long speech in which he assured me that Jesus Christ was leading them just as the same Jesus Christ led Moses and the children out of the Egyptian wilderness. I was a bit nonplussed by the anachronism, and yet the man was in earnest. I wondered just how literally he was being interpreted by the men present, and by the rank and file, and if so, just how the people distinguished between such facts as he stated and the ordinary facts of every-day life. It was very puzzling.

In this part of Texas and almost more so further West, one sees the triple Color Line between the whites and the Mexicans, between the whites and the Negroes, between the Mexicans and the Negroes. The Mexicans are legally white but actually yellow and brown. The Negroes are legally black, but actually white, yellow, brown and black. In the Houston depot there is a big rotunda and then a smaller niche to the right as one enters. It is all a part of the main hall, but over the niche is the inscription "colored." The Mexicans seem to hover in the part of the rotunda next the niche. We all use the same ticket office.

In Beaumont, I stopped at a brand-new, well-appointed home, laid out in a suburban section and with well-kept surroundings. I visited all of the colored schools. They were, of course, much poorer than the white schools, situated usually on unpaved streets but in some cases with new and pretty, well-equipped buildings. Here and throughout Texas I was impressed by the guild of teachers. The problem of teaching in the colored schools of the South presents various difficulties. Not only are there separate schools, but the teachers in the colored schools are selected by the white school authorities. This practically deprives the colored people of any voice in the direction of their own schools, or any chance to determine the kind of textbook and teaching which their children will have. In extreme cases, the teachers of a colored school system in a particular town may be simply the tools of reactionary whites, and the colored schools may be badly taught or wrongly taught, or poorly administered. In Texas, however, the influence of the colored community is considerable. There is some voting, here and there, even in the White Primary. This means that the colored teacher, particularly in the part of Texas where I was, is not primarily a representative of the white community. He

becomes, particularly in a town like Beaumont, a sort of diplomatic official who exercises a distinct function between the white and colored community. He tells the white officials, diplomatically, but with force, what the colored people want, and on the other hand, he tells the colored people how much they are likely to get by way of concession, or co-operation. Very often, his influence with both groups goes far beyond mere school needs. Sometimes, of course, he is timid and reactionary. This is probably the case in Corsicana.

It had been arranged that I should lecture in Corsicana but at the last moment somebody got cold feet. I do not know just what kind of incendiarism they expected from me, but at any rate, they decided at the last moment not to have me. In Corsicana there is a sort of dynasty of colored teachers; an elder Jackson who graduated from Fisk before my time, and whom I vaguely remember, and his son, a recent Fisk graduate. Whether these Jacksons were the timid souls or not, I do not know.

On the other hand, in Houston, Beaumont and Marshall, the teachers on the whole gave me a very distinct impression of men of education and force, who were making a careful but persistent fight for the advance of the colored schools and the colored community. The pupils especially impressed me by their vigor and brightness. It was a joy to hear the Beaumont High School sing. They put a thrill into it, and there were two sopranoes on the front line, slim brown things, who fairly quivered with the joy of it. The Carrol Street School of younger ones swarmed about the door and emitted a most creditable college yell: "C—A—R—R—O—L. That's the way we spell it; that's the way we yell!"

Always across the Texas scene, comes the curious incongruity. Working at the renovation of one of the Beaumont schools were employees of the C.W.A., all white.

In Marshall is Bishop College, with its first colored President. It is being re-organized and re-vamped, and looks promising. In front of the campus and facing the city is one of the extraordinary old slave mansions of the South, with great flat quadrangular pillars reaching to the roof, and here is installed Helen Hagan and her music department.

I spoke here to an audience of many hundreds, students and citizens, and a leading colored citizen gave us the striking information that in a county where there was a Negro majority, consisting of some thirty thousand Negroes, less than three thousand were on poor relief. The eleven thousand colored inhabitants of Houston, furnish a high school with eight hundred pupils, rapidly outgrowing its rather beautiful building, and carried on by a principal who has served over forty years, and thirteen colored teachers. Their teaching load is appalling, but their pupils' faces must inspire a good deal of hard work.

Then I went to Wiley. Wiley is another and better known colored college in Marshall, and the manifest destiny of Wiley and Bishop are to become one institution, although there are difficulties in such union, not the least is the fact that one is Baptist and the other Methodist! Wiley has a president of long service and wide experience. Its atmosphere was sedate with something of character and experience. The audience was intelligent.

Somewhere I rode through an Oil City where colored people had come in to share monopoly. Oil in Texas and Oklahoma draws no Color Line and has a disconcerting way, now and then, of appearing on the poor and out of the way land of colored farmers. It does not take long for monopoly to manifest itself and take the cream off the profits, but here and there a colored man hangs on and in this particular Oil City, between Beaumont and Houston, there were several well-to-do colored folk, and one colored church perched on oil land.

I rode down to Galveston, first to win a bet and prove that Galveston was only fifty miles from Houston instead of a twelve-hour ride! Colored Galveston is still the spirit of Wright Cuney. One sees the ornate Negro high school which he built; the finest colored high school in all Texas, if not in the South, at the time. Negro businesses are on the prominent streets, and there are more Negro policemen in Galveston than in all Texas. But the city has lost its commercial supremacy to Houston.

On the whole this part of eastern Texas has a pretty energetic and forward-pushing class of colored people with intelligent leadership. Across the line, over in Shreveport and Louisiana, the change is rather abrupt. A year ago, the colored people of Shreveport held a meeting to decide what they ought to try to do to assert some political influence. The meeting was rather suddenly interrupted by the entrance of the Mayor and a large part of the police force armed with pistols. The Mayor informed the assembled colored leaders that the whites of Shreveport did not propose to have "niggers" interfering in politics and if they did, there was liable to be bloodshed.

Out of the rain that greeted me in Texas came sunshine. Sunshine on farms and on oil fields. Oil fields where the land was being raped and where everything was raw and ugly and existence stripped bare for exploitation. There was evidence in the cot-houses and tourist homes of wandering and migrating people. And long new roads led North and South over this astonishing empire, whose width is nearly that of New York to Chicago, and whose length stretches almost as far as New York to Atlanta.

I came back to New Orleans and stopped at the Flint-Goodrich Hospital to take a near glimpse of this city, and after three days I came away convinced that the group of colored New Orleans Creoles have the longest history in modern culture of any group of Negro descent in the United States. It is more than a pity that an organized community effort is not made in New Orleans to save this record of community uplift and culture which began with the annexation of Louisiana in 1803, mainly because of Toussaint L'Ouverture.

I talked with old men and young. I saw several years' copies of the first Negro daily paper, The *New Orleans Tribune*. I got access to some libraries, where the librarians were a bit uneasy but courteous, and I have promises of much material, which I trust I can see. But above all, here is a community project which should interest every Negro in the United States.

I have travelled in my life and spoken in every single Southern state, and there are times when my questioners look at me a bit quizzically and ask audibly or otherwise, just what I say on such trips and lectures? The inference being, silent or vocal that my words in the South cannot resemble my words in the North. There is a certain truth in this. I do not use in Houston, Texas, the same lecture that I would at Ford Hall, Boston; but on the other hand, I have evolved a certain ethical standard which appeals to me.

The unpardonable sin for those who speak in the South is the tendency to say what they do not believe and which is not true. I have never told an audience in the South that the Southern white people were their best friends. And I never shall. I have never told them that they ought to be satisfied with the conditions that they find around about them, and I do not ever propose to tell them this under present conditions. On the other hand, I do try to give information: solid and satisfactory reports on world conditions and other matters which will help them to think through their own plight. This attitude is made easier from the curious fact that people in the South, white or black, never ask questions of speakers. Their churches have trained them to take it on the jaw and look pleasant. My task of talking would be less easy if people in the South asked searching questions. In that case, they would get frank answers. And very probably, in some instances, I would have to leave town, hurriedly.

A Social Experiment

By ROBERT G. JONES

THE most densely populated district in the Bronx, New York City, contains the largest concentration of the 35,000 Negroes in the Borough, and the Community Boys' Club. In this area, the Morrisania section, it is estimated that there are more than 3,500 colored people inhabiting the old tenements and living as janitors either in the basements, or in little shacks in the rear of the apartment houses. The approach to these shacks must be made through the basement.

This section is little known to the average New Yorker. If one is familiar with the San Juan District in the once famous "Sixties" of New York City, and he is told that the Morrisania section is in most aspects like it, he will probably get a mental picture of the neighborhood under discussion. However, the great fights that were prevalent between the various groups in the "Sixties" are unknown to this district. This latter condition is due to the fact that the majority of the Morrisania population is of the Jewish faith and compared to the Irish, a peaceful lot.

Mixed with the Jews of every country, Russians, Italians, Germans, Polish, Armenians and many other nationalities common to this metropolis, there live these Negroes—most of them recent comers from either the rural South or the British West Indies. In a report of the Regional Plan Association giving the results of a rehousing survey in the Bronx, our district is properly called a slum area. (Cf. *New York Times*, Feb. 2, 1934.)

Co-existent with the large population is the large family, and from this the Negro is no exception. It is very ordinary for one to find families with five or six small children living with their parents and sometimes a dependent relative in the small four room apartments of the most dilapidated type. The school statistics in June, 1933, showed that there were 531 Negro children attending the five schools of the district, high schools excluded.

Poverty, slum-like homes, which long ago should have been condemned, ignorance and vice were and still are in evidence in this particular area. Added to these aforementioned factors is the miserable condition created by the depression and its complement, the relief bureau. It has been observed that the morale in a great number of homes, Negro and white alike, is broken by the vicious system of permitting able bodied men to sit about the home all day and be taken care of by home relief agencies. Is it not natural that persons interested in social questions should be disturbed by the potentially great source of juvenile delinquency and crime in this district? This is the area that surrounds the new social agency, the Community Boys' Club.

During the 1932–33 school year, the number of Negro children apprehended for juvenile delinquency and crime increased to such an extent that the Joint Liason Committee, composed of the principals of the five schools of the district, members of the Bronx Crime Prevention Bureau, and others interested in social problems began to focus attention on the plight of the Negro child.

A study of the after school activities revealed the fact that the Negro child was limited to the streets for his recreation. There was no organized effort in behalf of the social welfare of the Negro child in the community.

Of the two existing agencies doing work with boys in the area, it was found that the facilities of both were so taxed by the great number of Jewish children, that the Negro children were not invited, and it must be borne in mind that both of these institutions were supported by funds from the Jewish Foundations, and created essentially for Jewish children. There were isolated cases where Negro children have been admitted as members to those settlements.

It was thus decided by the aforementioned Committee to act on the diagnosis, which they had made and attempt some sort of treatment for the social maladjustment of the underprivileged Negro child. The treatment was to be a club for the boys, and the Emergency Work Bureau supplied the worker to carry on the project.

During the days immediately preceding the registration of the boys a question as to the advisability of permitting the colored and white to be members of the same organization arose.

A survey of the area brought out the following facts;

1. Only 15% of the section's population was Negro.
2. There had never been any major racial strife.
3. The colored and white child had attended school together peacefully.
4. The colored and white child had played after school together peacefully.
5. Neither the white nor colored parents had made any organized move to set up separate institutions, except on a religious basis.

Take the above facts and add to it that in the mind of the small child there is no prejudice, unless so instilled by some of his elders. It is easy to see how the sponsors of the Community Boys' Club agreed that the membership should be open to all, regardless to factors over which the child has no control. It was the first time in the history of the Bronx that an organization had been set up to actually practise the form of Americanism universally theorized, but seldom made real.

A typical settlement program and a basement rent-free as the only available headquarters and play room and a few games brought by boys were the first possessions. The actual registration began on June 15, 1933. One month later there were exactly 244 boys enrolled as members. They were of all races, nationalities and religions. Since the summer there have been close to 700 boys to become members of the Community Boys' Club. Now the Club is housed in a large hall and paying rent.

Since September 26, 1933, the Joint Liason Committee has been maintaining all the Club's expenses. In keeping with the times there have been severe financial difficulties, but in some way, cheerfully met.

The club work is done on the self-government basis. The club is divided into several units in order that the program appeals to all members. The athletic units have intersettlement contests; the non-athletic for intra-club activities. In the latter, one finds the stamp, newspaper, nature study, Inner Circle, etc. The Inner Circle is composed of the assistant leaders. The boys spend a great deal of time away from headquarters as they utilize every facility in the neighborhood. There are trips to the library, concerts, theatre, baseball games, exhibits and various points of interest in the city. Sunday is the day for participation of the Community Boys' Club members in the program of the Spinoza Character Training Institute. The latter group has as its object tearing down racial, religious, social and national prejudices.

The immediate object of the Community Boys' Club has been accomplished, for no longer is there the fear of the increase of juvenile delinquency and crime among Negro boys. It is with pleasure that those close to the Community Boys' Club can say that there has been no member to be apprehended for law breaking since the founding of the agency. Although this is an important product, it is the opinion of the writer, that for the Negro, it is not the most important.

Here it is proved on a large scale a theory that a school of Negro thinkers have for a long time maintained: That prejudice can be successfully combatted. In the neighborhood of the Community Boys' Club, one finds the type of resident most liable to assimilate the worst kind of prejudice in the person of the very poor and ignorant immigrant. And it is interesting to note that the person coming to these shores is not long in acquiring the stupid American institution of race prejudice and all of its evil counterparts. To go into the rooms of the Club and see youngsters of immigrant families playing with Negro children peacefully, and learning to become citizens together is gratifying. And when one learns that there are in the group Christian children of Southern white parents, he will be pleasantly shocked.

NOW that the school year is well on its way, another product of the Club is being noted. During the 1932–33 school year, there seemed to be a gap between the understanding of the average colored parent in the neighborhood and the school authorities. This condition was detrimental to the child coming from this type of home. To the school people, the Negro pupils and their parents seemed to have "a chip on their shoulders." To the latter group, the school people were taking advantage of their children because they were colored. Parents went to school to "lay the white teacher out," rather than attempt to intelligently discuss their particular child's case and bring about the necessary adjustment. The child, whom the law says must go to school, is made the victim of the ignorance of the parent, and the condition forced upon the school authorities, which will be of necessity, the "laissez-faire." No adjustment is made and the Negro child and the parent are the losers.

Here is where the director of the Community Boys' Club became a very valuable factor in creating a more harmonious feeling and a better working basis between the two recently mentioned groups to the greater advantage of all concerned. As a Negro and social worker he was able to get into the hearts and homes and bring about adjustments satisfactory to all, and yet with the immediate welfare of the child uppermost in his mind. Some of the cases investigated, which involved misunderstanding brought out the fact that it is common practise to hide one's faults behind the color of one's face. To force this way of thinking upon the small child is criminal.

A case in point is that of Mary Lu J. She was a problem child, eleven years of age, and one that had been giving trouble since she first entered school. In her early days, she had all colored teachers and there was no question of color prejudice. When she came to our district she soon became known as a trouble maker, not only from her record, but from the continuance of her bad deportment. There was no cooperation from the home; for the mother never believed that her child did anything, but was merely being discriminated against because of her color. This philosophy she inculcated in the mind of this subnormal child. She told the child that as a colored child the only way she could get her rights was by fighting for them. Never did it occur to the parent that in the New York City school system she could get a square deal. The child was about to be sent to the Crime Prevention Bureau, when the director of the Community Boys' Club was called in and an adjustment satisfactory to all was made. The child is no longer told by the parent that she must fight without regard for the cause, rather than seek justice through the proper channels.

The converse of this situation is equally true. The school authorities must be open minded and fair to all children that come before them. There must be no fixed ideas as to the child that sits before them each day. Certain rights are promised to all by the Constitution and unsound reasoning and cheap emotionalism works not to the advantage of any group in the long run.

The establishment of this social agency, the Community Boys' Club has done what nothing else could possibly have done so beautifully—"it has broken down the walls between the schools and the community." This is the quotation and frequently expressed sentiment of the principal of one of the public schools represented on the Committee. Social workers, school people and those of the communities have hitherto spoken different languages, but in this practical demonstration, the teacher sees the Club at work; she sees improvement in her classroom; she comes to the meetings of the Joint Liason Committee and hears about racial backgrounds; economic pressures and their influence upon the child in her class daily; and then she understands the social worker. The teacher training potentialities of this kind of work are unlimited.

The Neighborhood Committee composed of the parents of the children in the Club is run on the same basis as the Club. It is inter-racial and non-sectarian.

The parents are learning that the child must not be handicapped by teaching it the traditional hatred that is common to all American groups, and which is the cause of much of the unnecessary difficulties present in the educational system of the non-Southern communities. It is indeed very gratifying to know that at least in one small corner of this great American Republic, there is one group working for one ideal, common to all, a better community through its children.

Recalling 1906

By J. B. WATSON

AS the Twenty-Fifth Anniversary of the Association for the Advancement of Colored People approaches two experiences of mine come to life afresh, both of the year nineteen hundred six.

I was a member of the second Niagara Movement at Harpers Ferry in the summer of that year—and what a meeting! No group of Negroes before or since have I found to be so honest and sincere—so fervent, determined and direct.

Irreconcilable, Uncle Harvey Johnson was there from the Druid-Hills Baptist Church in Baltimore. Dr. Johnson was always afire. Good old fighting, Catholic, McGhee was there from St. Paul. On the pilgrimage to John Brown's tomb, McGhee walked with bare feet over jagged stones. I never think of sincere men without including him. Reverdy Ransom was then at the pinnacle of his powers as an eloquent pleader. His speech on the occasion probably is his masterpiece. Too bad the Bishopric had to lay hands on him. Episcopal Priest Waller and his Baptist preacher brother were there. What a mixture in one family of thought. I recall very well Priest Waller's red and sweaty face as he emerged from a committee room exclaiming with unction: "How that fellow does swear." DuBois was in the committee room. In the whole meeting DuBois insisted on having his way and had it as usual. Monroe Trotter was there snorting and gnashing. John Hope took to the meeting a cruse of oil in case of troubled waters, but found he needed a tank of heavy viscosity. Though he, himself, at times forgot his oil, I believe Hope would go down as the pacifier of the meeting if there was one. Mary Church Terrell was there in her prime. Sutton E. Griggs strode about the grounds with a large book on abstruse philosophy under

his arm. Hershaw, Tom Johnson and who-all.

It would take all night to name and evaluate them all. All those, who, in the last twenty-five years, have employed, organized, legitimate protest, more or less have followed in the wake of the Niagaras.

The second of these experiences was in Atlanta, Georgia. A few men of the two races had been called together in one of the white churches to discuss ways and means of peace. Our white brethren got on one side of the center aisle of the Church and the group of America's untouchables on the other. The meeting was opened with prayer, the discussion was serious, the meeting was tense. Atlanta was trying to emerge from its most awful social upheaval since Sherman—the Atlanta riot of Saturday night, September 6, 1906. The theme of the meeting was peace and good will.

To this day some of these men and their successors have worked diligently for Atlanta's recovery from the riot and racial good will every where, and they are still working. Atlanta is still recovering.

The N.A.A.C.P. is an outgrowth of the Niagaras; the Inter-racial Commission an outgrowth of these first little inter-racial clots in Atlanta. I believe these two institutions have been the best of those engaged in social betterment in the past two or three decades. They have wrought well and have deserved every bit of esteem and support given them.

In two instances they have failed. That is, there are two aspects of their social problem which they have not touched—if so, only feebly. These two movements have sought to accomplish their work through intelligent and enlightened public opinion. The N.A.A.C.P. has resorted to the courts also. Their appeal has been to what we sometimes call "the ruling class."

Our courts are ruled by twelve men selected from the common run. The court, from the bench down, is completely at their mercy. I doubt that any man who has served on the jury of a criminal court has ever attended a meeting of these organizations. We talk about them in the meetings and call them names and make them mad, and the black people down behind the levee get the results and the breach widens. Through the invited guests and speakers gathered from the "ruling class" we have hoped to get the message over to the masses from which the twelve are always taken but we have not got it over to them, not yet.

Like much of our good religion, sometimes the work of our conventions remains on the inside of the church. The members of the convention and their class back home are expected to make the sheriffs do their duty and the people to behave, as though anyone was even made to behave finally. We are prone to forget the teachings of history that whenever there has been serious and protracted social strain the constabulary has broken down. Some events in this country in the past year are ominous.

These two movements could do no better than to seek some way of working with the white masses direct. It can be done even in the behind-the-levee country.

In the second place, during the past fifteen years the Negroes' homes have become fewer and poorer. His doldrums and discouragements are increasing. His greatest need now is for someone to show the way back. He is now willing to get to himself where he can have a more even break in the competition and capitalize the segregation he has been fighting.

These two organizations could do no better than to go about the work of reconstructing the Negro.

May Providence continue to direct these two movements and into even greater and more fruitful fields.

Harlem Hospital

This is the second and concluding installment of a digest of the 80,000 word report on the Harlem Hospital investigation. The first installment appeared in the March, 1934, CRISIS.

THE total number of operations performed at Harlem Hospital in 1932 was 2,875. Of this number 127 operations were performed by visitings, 17 of which, or 13.5% resulted fatally, and 643 were performed by the associates with a case mortality of 13.1%. 1249 operations were performed by the assistants with a case mortality of 3.3%. The O. P. D. assistants operated on 18 cases with no mortality. The internes had 63 operations with no mortality. There were 32 obstetrical operations with a mortality of 15.6. 644 operations in the otolaryngology department were principally tonsil and adenoid cases. Of the 33 ophthalmological operations 30 were performed by the two visitings and three by the assistants, with no mortality. It is customary at the Harlem Hospital, as in other hospitals, for the chiefs of services or their first assistants to perform the most difficult operations. Hence, their operative mortality rate is usually higher than that of the younger men to whom the less hazardous work is given.

The total number of visits to the Dispensary has increased from 79,567 in 1920, to nearly a quarter of a million last year, which is an increase of nearly 300%. The number of visits in 1932 almost doubled in comparison with 1927. If the rate of attendance during the first three months of this year (1933) continues throughout, the increase over last year will be in the neighborhood of 35,000 additional visits. The daily attendance now sometimes exceeds 1,000 patients. The possibility of additional sessions in the evening might be considered but unless the physicians are paid there is no likelihood of securing their services, particularly of Negro physicians, most if not all of whom have evening office hours.

The admissions office consists of four doctors, of whom three are Negroes (all graduates of Howard University); one of them had a fifteen-month interneship at Harlem Hospital and the other two had a year's interneship each at the Freedmens' Hospital, Washington, D. C.

The compensation of the men is $100 per month in the case of two, and $130 in the case of the other two. In addition they receive meals and laundry. Only one of them resides at the Hospital.

About one-third of the patients admitted to the Hospital in 1932 were brought in by ambulance. This, however, does not give even approximation of the extent of the ambulance service. Only about one-fourth of the calls result in the patient's being brought to the Hospital.

The medical records of Harlem Hospital are, in point of the forms used and in point of completeness of recording, quite satisfactory. Comments on records of individual services are to be found in the reports made by the consultants in their study. The usual run of medical and surgical records seem to be complete in every regard.

The laboratory is located on the fourth floor and occupies two large rooms and two offices. It is in charge of a salaried medical director on a part-time basis. The director is well qualified for his position by his former training and associations. He has two part-time volunteer medical assistants likewise seemingly well qualified. There is a resident physician associated with

the work on a full-time basis, but not salaried. The present incumbent is a Negro. All the technicians in the laboratory are Negroes. Two of them are histo-pathologists on a full-time basis, at $1020 and $1320 respectively; one a chemist at $1200; and three technicians in bacteriology and serology, at $1020, $1200 and $1320 respectively. All of these technicians, three white and three Negroes, are A. B.'s, who are giving their services for the experience and training which they obtain. There is also a white clerk, one Negro photographer and one Negro porter.

The X-ray department is located on the second floor and is in charge of a physician who is responsible to the Superintendent and the Medical Board. He is a full-time employee, well qualified for the position by his training and experience. He has one full-time salaried medical assistant—a Negro—and a volunteer medical associate.

The Negro Medical Situation in the United States

The opportunities afforded to Negroes in the medical colleges and hospitals of the country are insufficient to meet the demand. The exact number of hospitals for Negroes is unknown. Probably more than 200 such institutions exist in the country. Of this number, however, there are but 122 which are admitted to the register of the A.M.A.; most of them are of small bed capacity, lack the necessary equipment and are deficient in many other regards. Some of them, however, compare very favorably with recognized hospitals in the country. Only 14 of the hospitals for Negroes are considered by the Council on Medical Education of the A.M.A. as suitable for interne training. The opportunities of the Negro graduates for hospital interneships are narrowly circumscribed. A study of types of organization of hospitals in the country indicates that Harlem Hospital is the only one of its kind and may become a forerunner of future development.

The Negro Problem at Harlem Hospital

The reorganization of the medical staff of Harlem Hospital by the city authorities in 1930 could, no doubt, have been carried out with greater consideration than has been shown to customary procedure and with more regard for the physicians and surgeons who have given many years of their service to the Hospital. The chaotic conditions in the Hospital prior to reorganization require decisive action. There is no evidence that since the reorganization there has been political interference with the medical administration of the Hospital or with appointments to the visiting or interne staff either white or Negro.

The North Harlem Medical Society refused to cooperate with the investigating Committee and to submit specific evidence of unjust treatment of Negro physicians by the Harlem Hospital authorities. The investigation, therefore, has been limited to a searching analysis of the organization and work of the Hospital as it is today. The increase in the number of Negroes on the indoor, outdoor and interne staffs since reorganization indicates a full recognition of the Negro race by the Harlem Hospital authorities based on merit. While prior to reorganization there were only nine Negroes on the indoor staff, seven in the O. P. D. and nine on the interne staff, in 1932 there were thirty-eight Negroes on the visiting staff, twenty-seven on the dispensary staff and fourteen on the interne staff. The prevailing standards of professional and administrative work in the Hospital compare favorably with other municipal and private hospitals, although the institution admittedly suffers from lack of adequate funds, lack of proper accommodation and essential equipment.

There seems to be no favoritism in the assignment of duties among the members of the staff, white or colored.

The large majority of the internes are on a two year service, divided into four six-month periods. During four months of the second period the internes are assigned to ambulance duty. There is no race discrimination between the interne staff. The ward work of the internes seems to be well supervised, particularly in some of the services. There is need of more emphasis to be placed on medical orders for isolation precautions for patients suffering from tuberculosis, pnuemonia and other communicable diseases. There is a considerable amount of original research work carried on in the Hospital.

The continuous overcrowding on all the services, the rapid turn-over of patients and the type of patients cared for, create a nursing situation requiring considerable organization, elasticity and ingenuity in management in order to maintain a personnel adequate in number and properly qualified. The strain imposed upon the nursing service in meeting the overload is a considerable one. The evidence gathered indicates on the whole that the patients receive as good nursing care as can be given under the existing conditions and with the present hospital facilities.

General

The authorities of American Universities should be impressed with the existing need for an increase in the number of well qualified Negro physicians and be requested to widen the existing opportunity for ambitious and well qualified students to enter medical schools.

In view of the limited opportunities which the Negro graduate in medicine has at the present time to secure an interneship in a recognized hospital, an effort should be made to bring this to the attention of the hospital authorities generally and to those in charge of tax-maintained hospitals in particular, with the suggestion that well qualified Negro graduates be accepted for interne service especially in hospitals where a considerable proportion of the patients is of the colored race.

The need of affording a better opportunity for the post graduate training of Negro physicians should be impressed upon the medical profession generally and on the medical boards of our municipal hospitals in particular, with a view that consideration be given to the appointment of qualified Negro physicians and surgeons to outdoor and indoor service, particularly in hospitals which have an appreciable number of Negro patients.

In view of the generally unsatisfactory health conditions prevailing among the Negro population it is important that emphasis be placed on the training of Negro physicians and nurses in public health work. Opportunities for employment should be afforded to Negroes in the federal as well as in the state and local health organizations, particularly in communities where a large per cent of the population is colored.

Recommendations Concerning Harlem Hospital

The Medical Board should recognize in its membership the heads of the various specialties in medicine and surgery, which hitherto have not been represented on the Medical Board, in order that these departments may participate in the shaping of medical policies of the Hospital. This would be in consonance with the general rules of the Department which provide that the visiting physicians and surgeons, together with the consulting physicians and surgeons, shall constitute the Medical Board.

In order that the criticism of favoritism in the appointments to the staff of the Hospital and of the O. P. D. may be met effectively, it is recommended that all appointments to the medical positions in the Hospital should, before submission to the Commissioner, be approved by a board of physicians and surgeons appointed by the Commissioner on the nomination of the medical faculties of Columbia, Cornell and New York Universities. A precedent for this proposal exists at Bellevue and at Willard Parker Hospitals. The success of the proposal would depend upon the extent to which the members of this intermediary board would take an active interest in the nominations.

ALONG THE COLOR LINE

Miss Etta Cannon of Jersey City

AMERICA

Not Through Moral Suasion

The annual report of the Southern secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, an organization supported by Friends, is a significant document. The secretary, Mr. Howard Kester, is Southern-born and educated. With regard to the problems of Southern poverty he writes:

"I dogmatically assert that no great change is possible in the status of the millions of peons and wage slaves in the South as long as the present economic system endures. Not to realize this fact and to seek merely to ameliorate the conditions of the people, white and Negro, is to thwart the genius of the Fellowship spirit and obstruct the birth of decent society. To attempt to emancipate the mass of white and Negro workers in the South, employed in mill, mine, farm and factory only through methods of goodwill, moral suasion and education is to invite the continued exploitation, misery, and suffering of generations yet unborn. The extreme callousness of the white South to the brutalities of life in relation to the Negro and disinherited whites dictates for us a policy of developing those social forces which will not only undermine its present position of power and authority but will help usher in a cooperative commonwealth."

National Tubercular Hospital

A movement is on foot to secure from the Public Works Administration funds for the construction of a proposed tubercular hospital near El Paso, Texas. Dr. L. A. Nixon of El Paso has been instrumental in presenting the case for this project.

Government Furnishes House Servants

One hundred colored girls in New York have been given employment as house girls who will serve other unemployed. They are paid $15.00 a week. Most of them are high school graduates. Under the same system other young women, mainly white, who have lost work in "white-collar" lines are being trained as household assistants.

Buy Where You Can Work

The Richmond Branch has launched a drive for employment. The first attempt in the history of the colored people of the city to obtain employment from the Chair Stores has resulted in some startling statistics. In one store alone a check on trade showed that of 5,000 persons who entered a grocery store in the week closing Saturday, February 17th, only six hundred were white. Of the estimated business done by the store it was discovered that Negroes spent over $2,000.00 for groceries in that week. In spite of these figures the stores refuse to employ any colored people except in menial capacities.

National Negro Health Week

National Negro Health Week will be observed the week, April 1st to April 8th. Persons interested in further information may write the National Negro Health Committee, United States Public Health Service, Washington, D. C.

MUSIC, ART, AND THE DRAMA

"Nat Turner"

The Morgan College Dramatic Club recently presented in Annapolis three one-act plays: "Modesty," by Paul Hervieu, "Lotus Flower," by J. C. McMullern, and "Nat Turner," by Randolph Edmonds. The audience received "Nat Turner" with much acclaim. Much favorable comment has come to the author for his sympathetic treatment of this much maligned mystic, plantation preacher and rebel.

"4 Saints in 3 Acts"

Gertrude Stein wrote an opera which dramatic and literary critics have difficulty trying to explain. Virgil Thomson put the Stein verse to music. The result would have been stirring enough at that. But Thomson went farther; he engaged an all-colored cast which comprised some notable talent. Mr. Edward Matthews sang the role of St. Ignatius. (Mr. Matthews appeared with the Fisk Singers for several seasons. At Fisk he was not a medical student, as some of the advance publicity would have it. Lately, too many talented Negro artists seemingly must be advertised as former medical students). But the Negro cast can sing. The majority of the patrons of this opera have gone for the novelty, only to

The Senate Hearing on the Costigan-Wagner Bill

come out admiring the music. Thomson has concocted a strange mixture of sacred and vulgar sequences. At times one feels "churchy," and at times one wants to guffaw. But at no time is one quite certain what it is all about. The composer has said again and again that this is why he wanted a colored cast. "They would not worry about the sense of the words." Some critics declare that this is no great reason, citing that many an opera star from the hinterland has sung in Italian, German, and French, without troubling with the words. The same might be said for the audience. (There was once an old lady who insisted that *Lucia* was comedy.) But most of the people who attend "4 Saints in 3 Acts" leave the theatre looking quite serious. There must be something in it. At least, Mr. Matthews, Miss Howard, Mr. Dorsey and Miss Hines are delightful in their singing and acting. Much credit for the training of the chorus must go to Miss Eva Jessye. The ballet is good. The costuming, including the cellophane mountains which are the cause of much music, are excellent.

—*G. W. S.*

"They Shall Not Die"

Two plays now running in New York take up the Negro question in a manner never before treated. "Tobacco Road," does it by mere allusion. In this play, Jack Kirkland has made a dramatization of a novel by Erskine Caldwell. "Tobacco Road" treats the Negro effectively, by contrast with the poor whites who muddle through pitiful lives with only hatred as a sustaining force. Both the novel and the play direct penetrating shafts at Southern white cruelty to Southern white.

"They Shall Not Die" is Scottsboro, and progaganda for the Communist party transferred to the stage. In both cases, the play is reasonably a success. There are many persons who will not like it; particularly those who insist upon historical accuracy in the details portrayed in the first act. The whole social background of the arrest of the "Nine Scottsboro Boys" is made to depend too largely on two or three half-wit deputy sheriffs, and a mob scene that lacked the cool, calm, deliberate, yet animal cruelty of the Southern mob. The stage mob talked too much. Southern mobs are sullen. The kind of mob in this play is the kind made up of quick-witted men who want action: Forty-Niners, and Vigilantes. The Southern mob is slow, tobacco spitting and sadistic, but rarely voluble.

The N. A. A. C. P. (the "A. S. P. C. P.") does not receive credit for a single honest motive, and the colored minister from Chattanooga would hardly have been so complete an Uncle Tom. That type is still afraid of the N. A. A. C. P. The minister and the official of the Association made good comedy, but not a distinguished performance in the light of truth. But from the beginning of Act II to the end of the play, there is nothing for a Negro to get excited about. The Ruby Bates of the play is a trifle "sweet," but the characterization only served to emphasize the degradation of the mill-town. The court scene is all that a critic of Southern legal processes would want to see. Of course, the Scottsboro boys were as completely forgot in the play as in the real life struggle, but with the structure of the play itself, liberals should have no quarrel. The only question with the whole performance is, "Does the message get over?" Apparently it does. The audience had only a fringe of Communist sympathizers. Indeed, the prices were prohibitive. But the audience hissed the representation of Alabama justice when he closed his appeal to the jury, and the audience cheered the man who was the stage edition of Samuel Leibowitz.

"They Shall Not Die" was written by John Wexley. It took a lot of daring for the Theatre Guild to produce it. It was too strong for Washington. The District of Columbia authorities would not permit its opening there.

—*G. W. S.*

Hampton Trade School Singers (See page 107)

The Hampton Trade School Singers are an amateur group, student taught and student led. They have organized themselves, and sing to entertain themselves. Mr. George Kuyper writes The Crisis, "They are such amateurs that they had never before been photographed." Gerald B. Wilson is director.

The Harlem Experimental Theatre

The Harlem Experimental Theatre presented quite successfully the "Dreamy Kid" by Eugene O'Neil, and "Coastwise" by Isadora Bennett, Edna Guy danced. Regina M. Andrews is executive director of this group.

A French West African Girl

EDUCATION

Assistant Principal (See page 103)

Miss Etta Cannon of Jersey City is the only colored person in the State of New Jersey holding an assistant principalship in the public schools. She is located at Public School 16. In the competitive examination for her position, she ranked fourth out of a group of twenty-seven.

Bennett Receives $100,000

An anonymous donor has given $100,000 to Bennett College for Women, Greensboro, N. C., which makes it possible for the college to receive an additional gift of the same amount from the General Education Board. The original offer to Bennett from the Board was $250,000, contingent upon the raising of a like sum by the Trustees. The sum is to go toward buildings and endowment. David D. Jones is president.

Inauguration of President Gallagher

President Buell Gordon Gallagher will be formally inducted into the presidency of Talledega, April 3. Mr. Gallagher is the sixth president. A feature of the inauguration will be a symposium on "The Function of the Negro Liberal Arts College in the Social Process." Ambrose Caliver, T. Arnold Hill, James Welden Johnson, W. E. B. DuBois, William Heard Kilpatrick, Will Alexander and Willis J. King are listed among the speakers.

Deans and Registrars

The Eighth Annual Meeting of the National Association of Collegiate Deans and Registrars in Negro Schools met at Florida A. and M. College, Tallahassee, Florida, in March. Representatives from eighty member institutions were on hand. R. E. Clement, Dean of Louisville Municipal College is President and George W. Gore, Jr. Dean of Tennessee A. and I. State College is Secretary.

Student Conference

The League for Industrial Democracy sponsored a conference for students of Virginia, North Carolina, and Tennessee, at Greensboro, N. C. Colleges represented included University of North Carolina, Bennett College for Women, Johnson C. Smith, University, Appalachian State Teachers' College, Christiansburg Institute, Virginia Workers' School, Tennessee A. & I. State College, Virginia Union University, College of William and Mary, Salem College, Immanuel Lutheran College, North Carolina College for Women, Carolina College for Women, Atlantic Christian College, Fisk, and North Carolina College for Negroes. The speakers included John W. Moore of Virginia Union, Dr. George Nightengale of the North Carolina Federation of N. A. A. C. P. branches, George Streator of The Crisis, Lucy Cherry Crisp of North Carolina College for Women, Alton Lawrence, and Kenneth Meiklejohn. Bennett College and the Y. W. C. A. were hosts.

MR. JAMES CROW

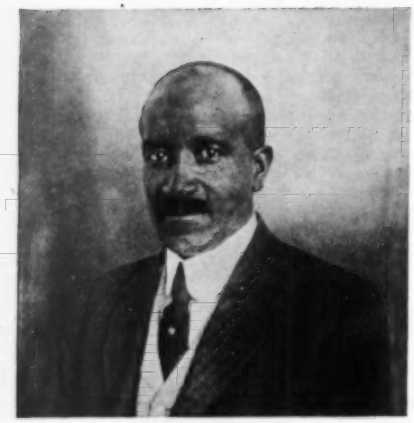
Bigoted Students

The Louisiana State University Student Council first withdrew from and then reentered the ranks of the National Student Federation because of asserted participation of Negro students in affairs of the organization. The Federation had two Negro delegates at its last convention.

White Labor for the Tropics

A measure endorsed by Governor Julian L. Schley of the Panama Canal Zone, would insure the employment in the Canal Zone of only white American Citizens in the majority of skilled labor classification. The law would be operative after five years. The bill provides that the replacement of aliens, mainly colored people, by American Citizens, shall be affected at the rate of at least twenty per cent yearly, until the consummation of the policy act.

NO
HELP
WANTED
BEARDEN



O. W. Glenn, Denver, Colorado

SOUTH AFRICA

Native Education

The effects of the government policy of education have been disastrous for the Natives of South Africa. The Native Education Advisory Boards have outlined the purposes and effects of this legislation since 1921:

(a) To introduce the entirely new principle of placing the onus for the development of Native education on the shoulders of the Native people . . . This burden has proved too heavy a load, a fact which emphasizes the unsoundness of a method whereby the poorest section is called on to bear the cost of its education and development;

(b) To entrust to the Minister of Native Affairs (acting on the advice of the Native Affairs Commission) the main direction of Native Education, while the routine administration remained with the Provincial Education Departments, thus creating a divorce between the authorizing and executive departments of government;

(c) To remove from the Provincial Administrations any real responsibility for Native education . . . so that they show no inclination to vote additional supplies;

(d) To prevent Native education receiving the serious consideration of any legislative body;

(e) To differentiate the basis of financing Native education from that of all other forms of education. Thus while in the education of European, Colored and Indian children the growth of the school population is provided for by parallel increases in Union Government subsidies and Provincial appropriations, —in Native education, however, the Development Fund bears no relation whatever to the school population as to the education needs of the Native people.

What the Natives Want

(a) Overtaking gradually the 79% of Native children at present not in school. This should be done at the rate of 1% per annum. Thus, in 100 years, the whole of the present non-school-going population would have been overtaken;

(b) Meeting the natural increase in the Native population say, 1.6% per annum;

(c) Lengthening of the school life to make education more effective for the masses, most of whom have to leave school while still in the lowest standards, 58.2% are in such standards;

(d) Improving the quality of education now given, especially in respect to equipment;

(e) Development of secondary education, making it more effective and making better provision for vocational training;

(f) Employing trained teachers and training more and better teachers; and

(g) Bringing of teachers' salary scales to standard, and providing pension privileges.

The boards make the further comment:

"This is not an extravagant programme, but it involves expenditure on a scale that the present financial basis of Native education makes quite out of the question. The education of the whole of the 1,100,000 children at present not in school is a burden which the State ought to face.

"When it is considered that the education of 384,000 European children cost the State just on £10,000,000 towards which the Native pay nearly £1,000,000 in direct taxes; and that the education of 300,000 Native children cost only £600,000 (of which £200,000 is paid by Natives in direct taxation), the additional £2,500,000 required to bring into school the whole of this school age population is not a great sum. But the overtaking of the non-school going population is a task which will take several generations to achieve, so that there is no need to contemplate the immediate addition of £2,500,000 to the national expenditure."

First Benin Ruler to leave Territory

The recent visit to Lagos of Akenzua II, Oba of Benin, marked a notable break with tradition, this being the first occasion on which the Oba has travelled outside his own territory. The present ruler, however, is no stranger to Lagos, for he spent some years there as a student at King's College, returning in 1922 to take up office as District Head in the Benin Native Administration. He succeeded his father as Oba last year and was formally installed by the Governor in April, 1933.

JAMAICA

Boy Scouts

Of the 33,000 scouts who attended the International Jamboree in Hungary 43 represented Jamaica and were by far the most popular group in Camp. The boys had to spend the greater part of each morning politely but firmly trying to prevent an unofficial influx of visitors whose eagerness would not allow their waiting until visiting hours.

On their return to England a party of them took a special course in Scouting at Gilwell Park while the remainder spent an interesting and instructive week in Sheffield.

FRENCH WEST AFRICA

Benevolent Colonial Policy

The budget for the African colonies will amount to 171 millions of francs. To promote the welfare of the natives, the following outlays will be made:

	francs
General expenditure	1,575,000
Ports and Rivers.....	38,825,000
Railways	21,020,000
Roads and Bridges.....	710,000
Sanitation, Water, Buildings..	2,877,000
Medical Aid Establishments..	2,008,000
EDUCATION	1,000,000
MILITARY ESTABLISHMENTS	800,000
Irrigation and Canalisation....	30,000,000
Sanitary Services	12,835,000

ENGLAND

The League of Colored Peoples

The League of Colored Peoples, the President of which is Dr. Harold Moody, staged a very fine play at the Y. W. C. A. Central Hall in London. The play, which was a comedy entitled "At What Price?" written by Miss Una M. Marson in collaboration with Mr. Harold D. Vag, dealt with the life of a middle-class Jamaican family. A large number of West African students were present and all were impressed by the excellent acting of that very able West African lady, Miss Stella Thomas.

Wilberforce Centenary Pageant at Freetown, Sierra Leone

N.A.A.C.P.

25-Anniversary Celebration

The 25th Anniversary Dinner of the N. A. A. C. P. is scheduled at press time for THE CRISIS. A more detailed report will appear in the May issue. The following is the program:

A vocal solo by Miss Ida Brown.

Remarks by William Pickens.

Remarks by J. E. Spingarn, Master of Ceremonies.

Vocal solo by Mrs. Charlotte Wallace Murray.

Greetings by Ruth Logan Roberts, Fannie Hurst, Hubert T. Delaney.

Address by Hon. Oscar DePriest, Congressman, Illinois.

Address by His Excellency, Governor Herbert H. Lehman.

Remarks by the Honorable Fiorello La Guardia, Mayor of New York City.

Greetings by William English Walling, Founder. Channing H. Tobias, Y.M.C.A. E. K. Jones, Urban League. Charles Edward Russell, Founder, Alexander Miller, N. A. A. C. P. Branches. George Frazier Miller, The Niagara Movement. George Streator, Managing Editor of the CRISIS. Louis T. Wright, Chairman of the Board, Crisis Publishing Company.

"The Negro National Anthem." Accompanist, Miss Olyve L. Jeter.

New Orleans Installation

Mr. James E. Gayle was recently tendered a banquet by the New Orleans Branch of the N. A. A. C. P. Dr. A. W. Brazier, Dr. J. E. Thornton, A. E. Perkins and Dr. B. F. Easter and others participated. Several presentations of gifts were made in recognition of Mr. Gayle's brilliant service to the Association.

"Voice"

Charleston, West Virginia, Branch presented the pageant, "Voice," written by John Mathus of West Virginia State College. The performance was part of the 25th Anniversary Program. T. G. Nutter is President of the Branch.

Anti-Lynch Bill

The Senate hearings on the Costigan-Wagner Bill reveal unprecedented support for this legislation. Many of those appearing at the hearings were:

Albert E. Barnett, a native Tennessean, Scarritt College; Heywood Broun, writer; Inca C. Brown, Methodist Episcopal Church, South; Elmer A. Carter, Editor, "Opportunity"; Marc Connelly, dramatist; William Crawford, eye-witness to the lynching of Norris Dendy at Clinton, S. C.; James H. Dillard, President of the John F. Slater Fund; Arthur Garfield Hays, Civil Liberties Union; Howard Kester, Southern Secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation; John Knox, University Pastor of Fisk University; Broadus Mitchell, Johns Hopkins University; Charles Edward Russell; Arthur B. Spingarn; J. E. Spingarn; Channing H. Tobias; Walter White; Max Yergan (by statement); Will W. Alexander (by statement).

O. W. Glenn

Mr. O. W. Glenn, for many years a member of the Executive Committee of the Denver Branch of the N.A.A.C.P., is dead.

Contributions to Penny-a-Head Fund

A COUNTRY-WIDE response to the N.A.A.C.P. 25th anniversary "Penny-for-Every-Negro" campaign has brought contributions in large and small amounts to the National Office, 69 Fifth Avenue, New York.

Among the recent contributions was one from the 24th Infantry at Ft. Benning, Ga. of $18.38 and one of $33.92, or 3,392 pennies, one for every Negro in Harrison county, West Virginia, sent in by D. H. Kyle of Clarksburg, W. Va. Other contributions:

Vallejo, Calif. N.A.A.C.P. Branch, $10; Washington, Ind. group by Mrs. Edna Isom, $1.86; Phillis Wheatley club, Winslow, Ariz., $2; Rhode Island Chain of Mothers, Providence, $1; Mrs. J. E. Spingarn, New York, $100; Phi Delta Kappa sorority, $25; Mr. and Mrs. William Allen, Warsaw, Ind. (collection) $5; Progressive lodge No. 35 Elks, Jersey City, N. J., $1; Elite Social club, Houston, Tex., $5.80; Riverton, N. J. $40.98; LaFoule club, $.25; A. C. Harrell, Timmonsville, S. C., $<; Dorchester academy, McIntosh, Ga., $3.41; Graham, N. C. public school, $.50; Federal Athletic and Civic Assn., Chicago, $1.02.

Also: Josephine T. Washington, Wilberforce, O., $1; Wade H. McCree, Boston, Mass., $1; Dr. Louis T. Wright, New York, $25; George Z. Blackmon, Clayton, Idaho, $5; Evening class in vocational agriculture, Pittsburg, Tex., $2; Eureka lodge No. 52, F. and A. M., Montclair, N. J., $2.50; Hiram lodge No. 52, F. and A. M., New York, $2; Club "16 Men" New York, $1; W. R. Jackson. Philipsburg, Pa., $4.10; Prince of Wales club, Houston, Tex., $2; John G. Mitchell Literary society, Wilberforce, O., $2; Dr. Harry Friedenwald, Baltimore, Md., $5; Japasaqua La. Circle, New York, $1.20; Louisiana Industrial Life Insurance Company, New Orleans, La., $10; St. James B. P. Church, Gibson, P. O. La., $1.55; White Rose club, Shreveport, La., $6; Farmers Union School, Clarkton, N. C., $3; Evelyn K. Dobson, New York, $5; Carl Murphy, Baltimore, Md., $25; Bedford, Ind. group by John W. Brooks, $3.25; St. Cyprian Consistory, No. 4, S.P.R.S., Homestead, Pa., $5; Young Zion Baptist church, $1; Home Culture club and Utilian club, Sidney, O., $2.34; Dr. John Dewey, New York, $3; Valley Forge club, Wyoming, O., $5; Little Rock, Ark. branch, $6.15; San Jose Calif, branch, $3.75; Mrs. J. M. Dillingham, Santa Barbara, Calif., $1; Ladies Sewing Circle, Pawtucket, R. I., $2.12.

Also, High School, Havre de Grace, Md., $9; Mrs. John O. Roe, Rochester, N. Y., $1; St. Paul Federation of Women's Clubs, $1; K.O.H. club, Bloomington, Ind., $3; Lily of the Valley lodge, Algiers, La., $5; Mary Jane Glascoe club, East Providence, R. I., $1; Mrs. S. T. Sutton, Philadelphia, Pa., $.50; Excelsior Household of Ruth, New York, $3; Contributory Civic club, East Orange, N. J., $1; Wisner Club, Wisner, La. by Annie J. Moore, secy., $4; Lincoln high school, Brookport, Ill., $1.25; Hamton Aid Society, East Orange, N. J., $1; Millard F. Jefferson, Henderson, Tex., $1; Col. B. O. Davis, Tuskegee, Ala., $10; Southern Pines, N. C. branch, $8.60; Delia Morler, Middleburg, Va., $1.10; and Funeral Aid Society, Long Branch, N. J., $4. This list includes January 2, 1934 through Feb. 10. Other names will appear in the CRISIS next month.

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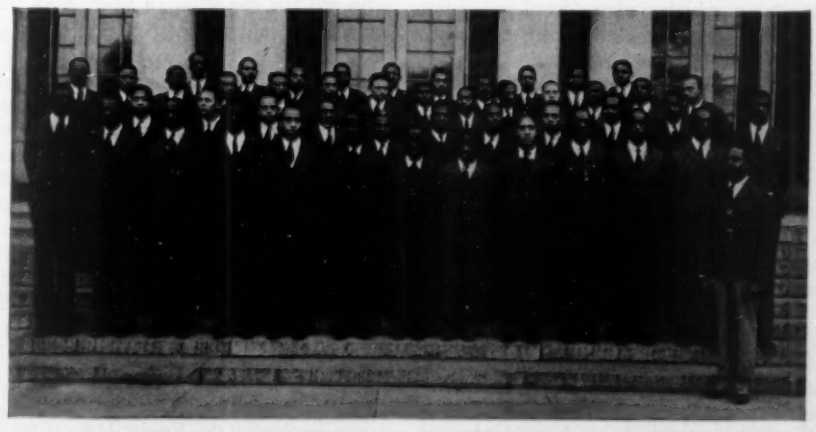

Hampton Institute Trade School Singers

Woman Under the Soviets

By HENRY LEE MOON

IN THE MODERN world only the Negro woman of America has been as viciously maligned and misrepresented as have the women of Russia. Detractors of the Soviet Union have sought to attack the new social order by discrediting the women of the country. In much the same way Southern "gentlemen" seek to support their anti-Negro attitudes by slandering the entire womanhood of a race. Often it is those who make the most blatant claims to chivalry who are the first to adopt this tactic in propagandizing against a group upon whom they look with disfavor.

Just as detractors have asserted that Negro women are without decency, without appreciation of family relations, and unworthy of common courtesies, so those forces which desire to retard the progress of the U.S.S.R. have branded the women of Russia. First came the stupid canard about the "nationalization" of women. The Bolsheviks, it was claimed, had made common property of women as they had of land, railroads and public utilities. Failing to sustain so absurd a hoax, the anti-Soviet elements started other vicious lies against Soviet women. They were "easy," unprincipled and diseased. All this was said of these women with the thinly disguised purpose of discrediting the Soviet regime.

Women in Soviet Russia and colored women in America share at least two attributes which perhaps have prompted the charges against them. Both enjoy greater economic independence than most other women of the world. And both have been less defiled by the hypocrisy of Nordic puritanism. Economic independence for women frees them from a host of restrictions imposed upon them in a man-made society; freedom from vitiating concepts of sex further liberates them in the pursuit of happiness.

The Soviet woman, like her colored sister, is a worker in a much greater degree than are women in other lands of the Occident. Not content to remain a mere ornament and breeder of children, she produces goods and renders services. During my sojourn in the U.S.S.R. I recall having met only one woman (and it was my good fortune to meet many) who was without employment. And this one, although not an invalid, was constitutionally unwell. The range of activities in which women may engage appears to be as extensive as that open to men. Much of the labor of the country is done by them. They are conductors on tramways and busses in Moscow. They work, too, in the building trades, in the street cleaning departments. They share in the agricultural development of the country. They are employed in mines as well as in factories, shops and offices. Young women have entered the field of medicine in large numbers. An eye clinic in Moscow where I received treatment appeared to be almost entirely staffed by women, most of them young and professionally alert.

Sex in Russia has perhaps never been the mystery it has been in Western Europe and America. Nude bathing for both men and women, shocking to the American mind, has long been the practice of Russia. That is not to say that on all beaches nude bathing may be seen. Usually it is now at the more sequestered beaches, frequently with women just out of view of men, around a river bend for instance.

The measure of self-reliance and economic independence which the Negro woman inherited from slavery was achieved for the Russian woman by the Revolution and made secure in the law of the land. The Soviet law confers upon women of the Union complete social, political, economic, legal and cultural equality with men. It repudiates the old family code—defined by Marx as the original form of slavery—which assigns to woman a lesser place. In her relations with men she is on a plane of equality. She is barred from no field of endeavor and from no honor or position for which she is able to fit herself. Women hold responsible offices in all departments of the government including the Red Army.

Nothing so completely sets forth this new equality as the Soviet law on marriage. Marriages are registered not as sanction to unions but, as the law reads, "in the interests of the state and society as well as for the purpose of facilitating the protection of the personal and property rights and interests of husband and wife and of children."

The law on marriage is so explicit that direct quotation from various sections needs no amplification here:

> "On registering a marriage the contracting parties may declare their wish to have a common surname, either that of the husband or that of the wife, or to retain their ante-nuptial surnames."
>
> "A change in residence by either husband or wife does not oblige the other marriage partner to follow the former."
>
> "When either husband or wife is incapacitated and in need, he or she is entitled to receive alimony from the other conjugal partner, if the court finds that the latter is able to support the former. A husband or wife in need of support but able to work is likewise entitled to alimony during the period of his or her unemployment . . . The right of a needy incapacitated husband and wife to receive alimony from the other conjugal partner continues even after dissolution of the marriage until there has been a change of conditions, but not for a period exceeding one year after dissolution of the marriage."
>
> "During the lifetime of both parties to a marriage, the marriage may be dissolved either by the mutual consent of both parties to it or upon the *ex parte* application of either of them."

At no place in the entire code does the discriminating term, "man and wife" appear. It is always, "husband and wife," upon each of whom the law places equal obligation and confers equal privileges. The same rights and privileges accorded women in this most important relationship extend to all phases of Soviet life.

The Soviet woman today is the freest woman civilization has ever known. To be sure there are a great many restrictions on Soviet citizens and great sacrifices still to be made. But in all this there is no sex discrimination. Shoulder to shoulder with her male comrade she marches onward towards a goal which she hopes will be the realization of a socialized world. It is no easy thing to be a Soviet citizen today, but the women of that country, thrilled by their emancipation and inspired by a great ideal, endure the present hardships with sterling fortitude, confident that tomorrow they will have not only the comforts which their sisters in western lands now have, but will be able to enjoy to the fullest their newly achieved freedom.

School Executives:

—Random Types

By GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS STEWARD

WITH rare and distinguished exceptions, the heads of educational institutions for Negroes are of three types. These types may be designated as the weakling, the tyrant and the sycophant. Too large a proportion of school executives is included within these categories. It should be repeated at once, however, that there are, and have been men and women, black and white, who as administrators of schools for Negroes have shown religious consecration to educational ideals and unquestioned devotion to the social regeneration of their black charges. Their glorious record but emphasizes the fact that there are far too many individuals, black and white, who by painfully contrasting behavior discredit themselves and the positions they hold as educational leaders of Negro youth.

In considerable measure schools reflect the personalities of their heads. The vast capacity for damage to pupils, teachers and institutional progress misplaced school executives possess is not always stressed. This paper attempts to describe the types mentioned and to indicate, even if imperfectly, the evil they do.

The Weakling

There is first the weakling. He never makes a decision openly. In private interview with pupil, parent or teacher he remains non-committal, although his mind may be at the very moment of talking already made up as to what he will do immediately after the interview terminates. In committee or faculty meeting he encourages discussion and listens with apparent attention to majority opinion, sometimes allowing the false impression to prevail that he is amenable to the will of the greater number, but usually maintaining a straddling position in anything he himself may utter. If his execution of ideas and plans discussed in either private interview or group meeting should be quite the opposite of what his hearers had previously understood, the weakling resorts to the weakling's ultimate defense —the lie. For this sort of school head is an adept liar. He does not employ the kind of lie which can be nailed down and labeled at once. He presents a long explanation or an elaborate interpretation. In doing so, he assumes the pose of the martyr. He presents his case in wounded manner and hurt tone. His fabrication is recognized only when denuded of its layers of verbiage and fraudulent emotion.

In spite of acts definitely known to be his and his alone, the weakling never accepts responsibility. There are always individuals or committees, whose advice he can declare guided him. If he is misled, he confides, it is by his sincere desire for the good of the school. He thus dodges all blame while keeping his eye on the main chance. At the other fellow's expense he is expert in being always right. Withal he manages to build up both in reputation and financial resources. He seldom steps down and out of a job ever, and certainly not without a well-feathered nest to retire to.

Perhaps the outstanding trait of this type is a positive and irresistible craze for involvement in sexual scandal. The weakling is barely out of one amorous indiscretion before he is entrapped in another. One such school dignitary can afford prolonged titillation for an entire state by his continuing crude and comic efforts to emulate Don Juan. Another may land in the courts and pay a year's salary to suppress details of his erotic misdemeanors. A third may be the gullible victim of every scheming but lazy beauty who knows how to get good grades and diplomas without working for them. A fourth, giving a small trinket in appreciation of the thrill of a clandestine love episode, may find himself facing petty blackmail for the rest of his days.

But the weakling, aside from hypocrisy and adultery, is also cursed with inability to stand up for a principle in face of pressure. If local policies so demand, or if a coterie of self-seeking dominies so request, he is ready to abandon not only his own beliefs, but equally ready to abandon any one of his associates who shares those beliefs. He will not stay put. No town, for example, having a fight on against school segregation, can expect his support. He is either without principle or has a gelatinous substitute therefor which can with facility accommodate itself to the exigencies of the moment.

The tyrant is perhaps more frequently encountered than the weakling. The explanation is simple. Authority conferred on men often produces autocrats. It is a human tendency for the individual to become dictatorial when wide powers are granted. In many schools such power is complete. The tyrant school administrator emerges.

He is the man who privately in his office and in public assembly prates loud and long about "the policy of this school". If that policy in a given instance should happen to run contrary to common sense or to the generally accepted campus notions, and if teacher or student should be so presumptious as to suggest a change or to request an explanation, the tyrant will reiterate monotonously and with gestures of finality, that thus and so "is the policy of this school". If hard worked teachers suggest that the Sunday morning breakfast hour might be set an hour later than the usual week-day time, the adamant "that is the policy of this school" will be trumpeted at them. If doubts as to the wisdom and authorship of that policy persist, and the questioner demands when, where and why the policy was promulgated and who authorized its execution, he will be met by a scowling potentate who with true Napoleonic hauteur and self-worship icily repeats, "I set the policy—I am the school".

The tyrant accepts advice from no one. No person knows as much about school administration as he has already forgotten. "The school has been run like this for forty years", he will remark when some helpful innovation is offered, "and as long as I am principal here, it will continue to run in like manner". He keeps teachers in a state of cowed anxiety, for they never know how soon nor for what whim their services will be terminated. He attempts to control the personal lives of the faculty, prescribing a multitude of rules and regulations suitable for an orphanage or a prison. These cover such minutiae as hours for meals, hours for arising and retiring, attendance upon chapel, teaching Sunday school, absence from the campus, dress, etc., etc. Association between the sexes is spied upon with an obscene solicitude. Tyrannical executives outdo ancient duennas in their despotic and clinging maternal attention to the female members of their organizations. Principals have been known to make nightly rounds of girls' dormitories, while it is even reported that on occasion the pay roll has been expanded to retain a functionary whose sole duty was to discover if possible any after-dark romantic indiscretions of necking couples. Pupils live in dread lest some slight peccadillo hail them into

the tyrant's terrifying presence, or a more serious lapse bring down his public wrath and their ignominious expulsion. The tyrant thus seems to confuse the duties of school executive with those of a penitentiary warden. His attitude approaches that of a military dictator.

Perhaps the latest support the tyrant type has received is the additional authority given him by the classifying associations and educational foundations which now so universally insist upon more, better and higher academic degrees for those engaging in the teaching profession. The tyrant is getting to be not only degree-conscious, but a degree-maniac. He is coming to believe that every worker in his immediate domain must possess a degree. He seems also to believe that such a degree of itself is sufficient qualification of a place in his educational organization. Until now he does not urge that janitors be bachelors in furnace tending. Yet if a man by training, experience and ability be competent but degreeless, his application is automatically eliminated from the tyrant's consideration with the stereotyped acknowledgment that "it has been filed." Only degree men count.

The tyrant is Czar in his own small purlieu. Regarding no opinion but his own, demanding unquestioning obedience to his decrees, he maintains his school with the rigidity associated with penal and military establishments. Education under his direction takes on a slave cast. In the institutions he heads, therefore, can be found the greatest smouldering resentment and discontent, which occasionally flare up into student strikes and demands for change in administration. If the tyrant is sufficiently powerful, and usually he has wasted no time in pulling the proper wires to insure his own sufficiency, the board of trustees, or the political clique to which he owes his job, endorses him, quiets the storm, and a few malcontents find themselves hunting other places, while the tyrant applies his tactics with renewed vigor.

THE most prevalent of the three types of school head mentioned is the sycophant, or what is commonly known as Uncle Tom. Again the explanation is simple. The large majority of schools for Negroes are either entirely or partially financed by whites. And heads of institutions of this sort not only do not bite the hands that feed them—they all too frequently lick them. Any number of individuals of this kind will occur to the minds of those who see these lines. There is no need to describe them in detail, for every one knows what a fawning, groveling, smirking, self-abasing creature the name Uncle Tom designates. Nevertheless here are a few illustrations. A high school principal won admiration and a salary boost by instituting truck gardens and kitchens where boys in overalls and girls in aprons and caps made a psychologically effective picture of devotion to menial tasks as he ushered in white visitors and explained that he was training Negro children to be efficient domestic servants. A teacher was imported by a school board to head up a Jim Crow high school in a city where the white people ardently desired such an institution and where only the vigorous protest and court action on the part of blacks aborted the plan. A principal always took time and trouble personally to pilot white visitors, however insignificant, through buildings and grounds, but usually was too busy to accord Negroes the same courtesy. A former head of a Jim Crow school system made a flying trip to a city where no such system existed and applied for the job of superintendent of colored schools. A gentleman established as the principal of a separate school for Negroes is loud in his praises of the white board and publicly professes a belief in the blessings of segregation.

All that need be said about this type of school head is that he is at the service of white people whole-heartedly when schemes of educational segregation or restriction are contemplated by school boards. He is ready for almost any duty regardless of the welfare of his black brothers. His price is usually his own personal advancement, but sometimes what he calls "contacts" and what others call "toadyism" satisfactorily repays him. Often he shows more concern for the correct á-la-Dixie mode of seating whites upon an annual visit than he gives all the year round to the correct supervision of his pupils. Frequently he is away from his post interpreting the black race to the white race, always in terms of undying gratitude to the whites for the inestimable benefit they conferred upon the blacks when they brought ignorant and barbarous Africans into contact with so marvelous a civilization as America boasts, and thus graciously permitted Negroes to learn the lessons of humility and thrift and other great character-building truths while blacking massa's boots or suckling missy's infant. The untold damage Uncle Tom at the principal's desk does, not only to Negro children, but to education in a democracy, never seems to enter his head. He is too busy and too engrossed in adoration of "the good white people" who have bestowed on him his own cosmic importance.

Much could be written of the scholarship of these types of Negro school head. That is entirely another story. It should be said, too, that these types are not as clear cut as this paper indicates. They overlap both in qualities and behavior. Frequently one individual may have outstanding characteristics of more than one type. But it still remains true that the cause of education among Negroes is severely hampered by being guided so largely by these three types of school men. The evil they do needs no detailed recital. There is no immediate remedy. The interworkings and ramifications of the white-black control of the situation for the moment can nullify any reform movement. Moreover by the very nature of the system governing education among Negroes these men are intrenched. In time death will do a good work. Meanwhile there is hope that the younger generations will, with their enlightened outlook upon life, imbibe also a balanced sense of manhood, and as they come into possession of educational leadership, will eliminate all those who may continue to exert or exemplify these retarding influences.

Statement of the Ownership, Management, Circulation, etc., required by the Act of Congress of March 3, 1933, of THE CRISIS, published monthly at New York, N. Y., for October 1, 1933.

State of New York } ss.:
County of New York }

Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and County aforesaid, personally appeared W. E. B. DuBois, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Editor of THE CRISIS and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of March 3, 1933, embodied in section 537, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are:
Publisher—THE CRISIS PUBLISHING CO., INC., 69 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y.
Editor—W. E. B. DuBois, 69 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y.
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2. That the owner is: THE CRISIS Publishing Co., Inc., 69 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y. All stocks owned by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Dr. L. T. Wright, Pres.; Mrs. E. R. Alexander, Treas.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: None.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

W. E. B. DuBOIS,
Editor.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 29th day of September, 1933.

[SEAL] FRANK TURNER,
Notary Public.

(My commission expires March 30, 1934.)

Since the swearing of the above statement of ownership, some changes have taken place in the organization of THE CRISIS PUBLISHING COMPANY. The following persons constitute the Board of THE CRISIS PUBLISHING COMPANY: Dr. L. T. Wright, President; W. E. B. DuBois, Vice-President; Walter White, Secretary; Mrs. E. R. Alexander, Treasurer; Arthur Spingarn, George Streator, and Roy Wilkins. W. E. B. DuBois is Editor-in-Chief; George Streator and Roy Wilkins are Managing Editors.

The Outer Pocket

Fisk and Flory

(EDITOR'S NOTE: *Ishmael Flory, a graduate of the University of California, and a graduate student at Fisk University in the Department of Sociology, was "asked to withdraw" from the University. The reasons for this action are not clearly set forth in either the statement of Dean A. A. Taylor, or in the reply to this statement by Mr. Flory, which we publish. The* CRISIS *is unable to publish Dean Taylor's statement, because of its length and because it deals only with the question of whether Fisk University was directly or indirectly responsible for the contract for the appearance of a group of singers under the name of the University. The full statement was printed in several Negro weekly papers. The facts are these: Ishmael Flory organized, or was instrumental in organizing a protest on Fisk campus, first against the lynching of Cordie Cheek; secondly against the appearance of a group of singers bearing the name and reputation of Fisk, in a theatre to which colored people gained access through an alley. Flory was also guilty of spreading sentiment on the Fisk campus against the appearance of Fisk students and faculty members in places where Negroes advertised "special seats for white people." The* CRISIS *prints a statement from Mr. Flory, quotes parts of a letter to a Fisk alumnus from President Jones, and a letter from a faculty member, necessarily anonymous. There is also a telegram from a student.*)

President Thomas Elva Jones writes:

In reply to your recent inquiry regarding the conditions under which Mr. Ishmael Flory withdrew from Fisk University by request of the Faculty, permit me to state that Mr. Flory was neither expelled nor suspended. He was asked to "withdraw" which, contrary to the other two penalties, does not prevent him from enrolling in another institution. He was also given the unexpended balance of his $400 graduate Fellowship which amounted to paying his railway fare, pullman, and meals to Berkeley, California, and $27.01 with which to become adjusted in some other work.

Mr. Flory's withdrawal was requested on the basis "of all evidence and testimony presented in your behalf." (Quotation from Executive Committee letter). This is in accord with the 1933-1934 catalog statement on discipline, page 47, which says: "Any student whose general attitude is such that the President and Faculty may deem his separation from the institution to be for the good of the University may be required to withdraw from the University, without prejudice to his continuing study elsewhere.

The action taken was on the basis not of one incident but of several which led the Executive Committee of the Faculty, the Educational Policy Committee, the Head of the Department under whom Mr. Flory was working, and the Faculty as a whole to conclude in overwhelming vote that he did not fit into the Fisk way of life and that his influence could be better exerted elsewhere.

I may say that this action had nothing to do with Mr. Flory's stand regarding Fisk students singing at Loew's Theatre. This engagement was an admitted error which when apprehended by the administration was cancelled eighteen hours before the fourteen students represented as a "mass meeting" made a pronouncement on the matter.

Fisk maintains its traditional position with reference to non-segregation of the races and appreciates the student stand on this question even though it was worked up after it was known that the faculty had handled the case. Fisk also stands today as it always has for the right of free speech by students and members of the Faculty. This is testified by the fact that other students who in this instance made utterances on the campus quite as damaging to the school have been retained. The University, however, always has and does now, exert its right to ask a student to withdraw when such a student ignores the channels of organized government to obtain orderly change and disturbs persons on and off the campus to the extent that the educational process is slowed down and the reputation of the institution injured.

Ishmael Flory writes:

Dean A. A. Taylor is very ambiguous in his attempt to deny responsibility on the part of the University in arranging for the students from Fisk to sing at Loew's Jim-Crow theatre. Yet he says: "The agreement for the students to appear at Loew's Theatre in Nashville, was made by the person who is permitted to make engagements for the singers." Who gives that permit? The Dean fails to say that Fisk University through its president gives that permission.

The Dean devoted his attention to the matter of cancelling the engagement some hours before the students took action. The cancellation of the engagement was a minor matter. The harm had already been done when the radio, the newspapers, and placards—that even flanked the Fisk University Campus—had appeared. The Dean in his attempt to discredit the action taken by some of the students indicated that the University evidently demands students who will sit by and let the President do his will without complaint. It would seem that the students showed more stamina when they protested the engaging of the Fisk students, though, as the Dean says, their number did not exceed twenty, than did the Dean himself when he sat by and permitted Negro students to be engaged at so pernicious a place as Loew's.

Turning to the real issues in the case, I want to point out the fact that the placing of definite responsibility for making the contract, was ignored by the Dean.

First, why did Dean Taylor and Mr. Beal, as he admits, hold an interview with the manager of Loew's with a view to obtaining a release from the agreement? Why did Dean Taylor wire the President for approval to "authorize withdrawal of the singers from the agreement?" It was because he was afraid that the University would be involved in a suit, a fact which definitely places responsibility at the doors of the University.

Secondly, the Dean, in the version of the affair dictated by President Jones, failed to tell the public that the President admitted that the manager of Loew's first approached him on the matter of the students singing. He referred him to Mrs. J. A. Myers. Mrs. Myers gave the manager a price which she thought so high that she would get rid of the thing. The manager *went to the President* asking for a reduction in Mrs. Myers price.

I willingly admit that I publicized the whole affair surrounding Fisk students being scheduled to sing at a Jim-Crow theatre, for which I have no apology. As I told the Executive Committee at Fisk, when a Negro university starts *accepting* Jim-Crow, it ceases to be the concern of that university, but the concern of twelve million Negroes.

Mr. A. Howard Bennett, a Fisk Student telegraphs:

HAVE CONCLUDED FLORYS DISMISSAL JUSTIFIABLE DONE IN THE BETTER INTERESTS OF THE UNIVERSITY AT A LATER DATE THE DETAILED LETTER WILL BE FORWARDED CONTAINING MY FULL OPINION.

A member of the Fisk Faculty writes:

I believe the accounts in our Negro press, always highly accurate, including the accounts both by Dean Taylor and Mr. Flory, are substantially correct. The only issue, it seems to me, is not an

account of what happened, but rather as to whether what happened warranted dismissal. You know my stand on that particular point. The entire Executive Committee and an overwhelming majority of the Faculty disagreed with me. I have been too many times in the minority, where such matters are concerned, to believe myself always irrefragably correct when I am outvoted.

The Weaver Case

EDITOR OF THE CRISIS:

In David Pierce's contribution to the symposium on segregation in the March CRISIS, the following statement appears:

"Let us make a concrete issue which concerns us in Ohio. A brilliant young colored girl was refused permission to take a course in home management at Ohio State University, even though the course was prescribed as necessary for her degree. The supreme court ruled against her. Negroes are entitled to 'equal but not identical accommodations.' She was graduated without the required course. I have in mind the Doris Weaver case, which, if properly advertised among Negroes and liberal whites can wreck the Democratic party in Ohio."

Mr. Pierce seems to me to be in error as to the facts of the case, so far as the Supreme Court of Ohio is concerned. I have seen the briefs in the case and the facts are actually as follows:

The Supreme Court of Ohio did dismiss Doris Weaver's petition as Mr. Pierce states, but in so doing it did not, as his article implies, uphold Ohio State University in refusing her permission to take the course known as "Home Economics 627" or in refusing her admittance as a resident to the building on the University Campus, known as the Home Economics House. In the Mandamus petition presented to the court Doris Weaver's attorneys first denied in her behalf that she had been offered a single room or "any other arrangement short of a compulsory substitute for the course" but this denial they afterwards withdrew in open court. The facts as they appear in these pleadings, and are agreed to by both sides are that the "defendants (President Rightmire and Miss or Mrs. Gorell) have offered to the plaintiff quarters and opportunity to pursue her residence service in such Home Economics House in one of the compartments of the building which is furnished and equipped in an equivalent or similar manner as to quality and quantity of furnishings as is the other compartment of the building in which she may under the direction of a supervisor perform the necessary laboratory work, dwell and entertain her friends and associates in a similar manner and under like circumstances as are permitted to the other students of the university enrolled in such course."

Whatever chicanery, discourtesy or injustice the University authorities may have been originally guilty of, toward Doris Weaver was not the issue before the court. The petition in Mandamus asked the court to order the respondents (defendants) to admit Doris Weaver to the course and to the Home Economics House. They were able to show that they had offered to admit her both to the course and to the house. It was further admitted in Doris Weaver's behalf that she had not, as was customary, indicated on her application for residence in the Home Economics House the name of the girl she had selected as her room mate for such residence, and who would necessarily also be a senior taking the Home Economics Course. The only discrimination finally alleged and sustained by the facts in the pleadings therefore was the failure of the University to assign Doris Weaver to a double room on the side of the house for which she had made her original application. It was shown that she had been offered a single room on the opposite side of the house, identical in comfort and furnishings, because at the time the offer was made the other side of the house had been filled. I believe it is true that this side of the Home Economics House was in fact full at the time the offer was made because of the delay of the University in acting upon Doris Weaver's application and that there was discrimination and unfairness here. But again the irreproachableness of the University's conduct throughout was not the issue before the court. Moreover, if Doris Weaver had accepted the offer of the University, the next applicant for the course and for residence in the Home Economics House, whether white or colored, would, if accepted, have as a matter of course been assigned to the same side of the house with her, so that the discrimination alleged narrows down still further to the University's failure to assign to her a double room and a white room mate since it was admitted that no other colored girl in the University at that time qualified for the course. The court found, and it seems to me correctly, that *at the time of the petition* Doris Weaver was not being denied any educational or civil right and dismissed the petition. I do not see how as a matter of law it could do otherwise even if we waive for a moment the legal aspect of the matter and suppose that the court had granted the petition, would any civil or educational right have been preserved? If it was customary for students to designate a room mate and Doris Weaver, for whatever reason, was not so designated by any of her fellow students could the Court or the University have overridden their individual choices in this matter? And even if they could have done so legally would it have been desirable from any point of view that they should? Would she have felt that there was less discrimination and discourtesy involved if she had been assigned to a double room, and failing to find a fellow-student willing to share had it been obliged to occupy it alone? And would she herself have been willing to accept any and every room mate that might have been assigned to her, whatever her color? It seems to me that in this case the individual rights of all concerned were at stake, quite as much as any question of racial discrimination, the right of (comparative) privacy and of free and voluntary personal association and that these were preserved as much for Doris Weaver as for the white students involved. I am referring however only to the action of the court in dismissing the petition in Mandamus and to the actions of the University referred to in the court's opinion. With the earlier actions of the University this opinion did not deal and I do not know what they were. There is probably every reason, in such cases for eternal vigilance and eternal suspicion and defensive activity on the part of N.A.A.C.P. Branches. There *is* all too often reason to distrust pronouncements about "equal rather than identical accommodations."

The issue, in the present case, was also confused by the deplorable, clumsy and irrelevant *obiter dictum* of the judge writing the opinion—the late Judge Jones. It seems to me in this respect one of the worst written opinions I have ever read, while the actual decision was in accordance both with the facts and the law of the case.

—MARTHA GRUENING

Federal Money for Southern Schools

A well known College Professor writes:

It seems to me that the N.A.A.C.P. is missing a bet in passing up propaganda and active work against the current educational bill, designed to appropriate many millions to the support of the public schools. I know that all of the Southerners are lobbying for the bill in its present form, which calls for the money to be expended "in accord with the laws of the said states"—which, of course, means that old Sam will be left where he always has been. I have some data on this subject, which indicates that unless racial discrimination is barred, Southern States will use the Federal money as a gratuity for white schools and the Negro schools, which really need the money, will be left in the

cold. Now, I propose that somebody get in touch with this bill; that we ask for a hearing; that somebody present the case of Negroes against it (which might also be identified with that of the Northern States); and I will agree to come to Washington to present what facts I have, at my own expense.

In pursuance of the above suggestion, let me add that the bill proposes to distribute a subsidy to the States on the basis of "Need." Now, I argue that the only protection of the Negro child is to put into the bill a clause reading thus: "The moneys herein appropriated shall be distributed among the States according to need,

Provided, that any State discriminating between children on the basis of race, creed, or color, shall not share in the aforesaid expenditures, or words to that effect.

The point of this being: Suppose Georgia "needs" $4,000,000. The law states that until they shall equalize expenditures, no Federal money shall come to Georgia schools. Now, what would happen would be wholesome publicity on the differential expenditures; the States like Kentucky, Oklahoma, Maryland, and perhaps Tennessee and North Carolina would find it worth their while to accept this money. However, even in these States, the appropriation would have to go almost entirely to Negro children. In the other Southern States, like Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, and Louisiana, the price of equalization would be greater than the reward held out for the acceptance of Federal money.

The support of Northern congressmen and Senators, it seems to me, could be obtained by showing that the South will take the Federal money, and, by spending it on white children, eliminate the necessity for heavy local taxes now incident upon the North. This has already happened in the Southern States as between "white" and "black" counties. Federal appropriations without a sufficient guarantee will simply perpetuate Negro inequality, free the South of its proper weight in the support of education, locally and leave Negro illiteracy and ignorance where it has always been—in a pitiable, miserable state.

The Browsing Reader

***Out of My Life and Thought*, by Albert Schweitzer. Translated by C. T. Campion**

. . . Henry Holt, $2.50

ALL too rarely has the presence of a white man in Africa been a cause for rejoicing. Albert Schweitzer is one of the exceptions. He is not only one white man who brought to Africa gifts worth having, but one whose departure from Europe, where he was eminent in many fields was a decided loss to all of them.

At the age of thirty having already distinguished himself in theology and music, Schweitzer experienced what he calls quite simply a "conversion". A devout though liberal and rationalistic Christian, it seemed to him that no man who called himself a Christian, could face the crying need of African Natives for Medical knowledge and aid and do nothing about it. He had reached this decision with a characteristic simplicity and lack of fuss on reading an article on the medical needs of the Congo natives in a French missionary magazine. At the age of thirty he therefore turned his back on two eminently successful careers—on his pastorate of the Church of St. Nicholas in Strassburg, his Chair of Theology at Strassburg University and his beloved organ, to study medicine.

"Now began years of continuous struggle with fatigue" he writes in this autobiographical record. And no wonder, for he still not only needed to support himself while studying but could not bear the sudden wrench from the occupations he loved so he continued even while he studied to preach nearly every Sunday, to give theological lectures and concerts of Bach's music. His reputation as an interpreter of Bach had indeed grown so at this time that the Paris Bach Society insisted on his taking the organ part at all their concerts as did the *Orfea Catalá* in Barcelona. "Although I had only to attend the final practice" he writes "and could travel back to Strassburg during the night following each performance, every concert took at least three days of my time. Many a sermon did I sketch out in the train between Paris and Strassburg." It was also in the intervals of medical study that he wrote among other things the final chapters of his revolutionary *Quest of the Historical Jesus* and his essay on Organ building, pointing out the faults of the modern instruments and the virtues of many of the older outmoded ones, which was to be so influential in the restoration and preservation of the latter. These things give some small indication of the enormous mental and physical vitality which have carried Schweitzer through labors sufficient for half a dozen men's lifetimes. In the end when he had completed the regular University Medical course, an additional course in tropical medicine in Paris, and raised sufficient funds to equip a hospital, he approached the Paris Missionary Society with an offer to go at his own expense to the Society's mission station in Lambarene, in French Equatorial Africa. The Society came very near refusing this offer, because it doubted his orthodoxy but when he promised to refrain from preaching and stick to medical practice they accepted, and in so doing put themselves and Lambarene on the map.

It was in the Spring of 1913 that Schweitzer set sail for Africa. His experiences there have been recorded more fully than in the present volume in his books and pamphlets about Lambarene. ("On the Edge of the Primeval Forest", Henry Holt, New York.) Here Schweitzer, his wife who had trained as a nurse and his native assistants brought medical succor for the first time to the dwellers both Native and European of the Virgin Forest—forest so dense that his patients were brought to him, by the only road that wildernesses afforded: the River Ogowe.

Here Schweitzer labored until, by a tragic irony, he was returned to Europe and interned in 1917, and here he labors again, except for brief furloughs to Europe, when his health or the financial needs of the hospital demand it. Here with his own hands he has cleared the land, built cabins and planted crops against the famines that constantly threaten the little travelled wilderness. He cared for the sick and insane, performed successful major operations under incredibly difficult and primitive conditions. He buried the dead when he found that the religious taboos of his helpers forbade their doing so. But of greater importance perhaps is the fact that Schweitzer has succeeded to an astonishing degree in winning the confidence of the Natives, that he has no interest in proselytizing among them, that he respects Native capacities and Native life, recognizing limitations as candidly and with as little condescension as he does those of civilized life. He sees clearly and speaks out fearlessly on the evils of colonization and Native exploitation, and has said that too often the interests of colonization and those of civilization are opposed. His practical contribution to Africa has been of great importance. But his outstanding contribution is one of tragic rarity in Africa's history—the dedication of great gifts, by a white man to the service of Africa, rather than to its exploitation.

M. G.

A Tale of Three Cities

Richmond, Charlotte and Greensboro

By GEORGE STREATOR

RICHMOND, Virginia, Charlotte and Greensboro, North Carolina, have called themselves at varying intervals "Gateways to the South", and to what extent this assumption is true will naturally depend on the point of view. If by "gateway" we mean an entrance into the remnants of a decadent, colonial aristocracy, then that is Richmond. If by "gateway" we mean an introduction into the new feudalism of cotton and tobacco barons with a little old-fashioned Southern culture superimposed, that is Greensboro. If we mean by "gateway" an introduction to Northern capitalism transposed to a Southern clime, with all of the essential conflicts between conservative, Presbyterian politicians and labor, and a ruthless suppression of all tendencies toward dissension, that is Charlotte.

All three of these cities offer splendid examples of nearly complete cultural isolation, one from the other. Charlotte has long been a culture to itself: Calvinist, conservative, corrupt. It has few influences which could be called liberal. There have been Communists and liberal agitators there, but in the main Charlotte is Charlotte. The exploitation of white and black labor goes on apace, but the churches are taller, the banks bigger, and the atmosphere cold and self-righteous.

Greensboro is or was a Quaker town. There is hardly a day that one is not reminded in speech of this last stronghold of the Southern Friends. But it is to be doubted whether Greensboro is as much distinguished by evidences of racial and economic fraternity as its chief prophets would have us believe. First of all Greensboro has long since resigned herself to the tender mercies of two feudal lords, one made rich in patent medicines, and the other in textiles. Its city officials are puppets of the quiet and effective rule of two great industrial barons. There are liberals in Greensboro, not many, but a few; although ten times as many as in Charlotte, which is by far the larger city.

Richmond is still the Capital of the Confederacy. As the capital it has all the vices of the other two cities but a few more of the virtues. Richmond at least has the elements of a liberal press. Charlotte seemingly will never have a liberal press, and the beginnings made in Greensboro a decade ago have long since been dissipated under the domination of the present financial control.

It is only natural then that colored people in these three cities should be affected even more adversely than the underprivileged white class. Particularly are colored people severely in the need of work in Greensboro and Charlotte. In the latter place the disastrous effects of the NRA Farm Program are clearly evident when one sees unmistakable signs that starving colored people from South Carolina plantations are pouring into Charlotte for one last chance of survival through Federal relief. In Charlotte we have a problem that is going to become increasingly pertinent in Southern cities. It is the problem of how to absorb perhaps two million black plantation peons into the already impoverished Southern mill-town. In Charlotte we have a high murder rate, an abnormal amount of petty crime and all of the other features of social disorganization incident to extreme poverty and idleness in a crowded city. Here are problems which colored people must face in a manner which they have never attempted to face them. There is still a tendency on the part of established families to deplore these newcomers. This is not enough. Either these immigrants from the plantations must be fed, clothed and housed decently, or they will undermine the morale of the whole colored population of the city. Already white Charlotte has turned to reaction. No less person than the wife of the president of the local branch of the N.A.A.C.P. was refused the right to try on shoes in a store which has always catered to Negro patronage. The wives of a physician, and a college professor were denied service in a department store unless they took seats which hid them from the white patrons. Racial antipathy has been increased by the gangland murders in the crowded Negro district. There has been wholesale cutting, shooting and killing. Something must be done to meet the situation. The old tactics of deploring and resoluting will not meet the issue.

In Greensboro likewise the race problem is still approached from the angle of philanthropy and goodwill. The colored population is relatively small with a high proportion of intelligent, trained people. The approach to the problem of color, nevertheless, is by way of donations, gifts, and the usual appeal to reasonableness of decent white people who, unfortunately, are almost as powerless as the Negroes. The domination of the city by the puppets of the big interests make of Greensboro just another North Carolina mill-town. Meanwhile, Negro society is disintegrating.

Richmond will not lend itself to such an easy-going analysis. In Richmond the "First Families" still hold the reins. There are newspapers which tend to mold a liberal sentiment. There is a certain amount of economic organization among Negroes, and a certain pride in these organizations which gives Richmond Negroes a psychology of satiety. But even in Richmond there is danger that class lines will soon completely separate the masses of the unemployed from the relatively small number of prosperous, intelligent, colored people. Even the Communists there are changing their tactics in an effort "to capture" a more intelligent following. There is no likelihood, however, that the radical political group will exert very much influence on Richmond for many years to come. Here as in Charlotte and Greensboro there are large numbers of unemployed college trained young men and women. But there is an undeniable attitude of indifference which endangers the security of the entire Negro group. A philosophy of futility has undoubtedly taken hold on most of the young people. Ninety per cent of them have no thought at all of the consequences of this policy of drifting without an attempt to chart the course. It is true that a certain amount of economic consciousness has come to the fore in Richmond. The N.A.A.C.P. branch has organized a boycott of grocery stores which receive most of their patronage from Negroes, yet refuse to employ them except as menials. This movement will grow, but not without strong opposition. Many white friends of the Negro are alarmed by the boycott of A. & P. Stores. They are adamant in their opposition to Negro iniative and organization. They still insist that they, the liberal white people of the community, should be allowed the power to direct the Negro's philosophy on the race question. Some older members of the colored group are cautious and disturbed. There is no doubt, however, that the young Negroes of Richmond have undertaken a daring thing. Whether they have the stamina to continue is another matter. At least it is a beginning. At least they have found the seat of power and bid fair to make an appreciable assault upon it.

Postscript

by W. E. B. Du Bois

SEGREGATION IN THE NORTH

I HAVE READ with interest the various criticisms on my recent discussions of segregation. Those like that of Mr. Pierce of Cleveland, do not impress me. I am not worried about being inconsistent. What worries me is the Truth. I am talking about conditions in 1934 and not in 1910. I do not care what I said in 1910 or 1810 or in B.C. 700.

The arguments of Walter White, George Schuyler and Kelly Miller have logic, but they seem to me quite beside the point. In the first place, Walter White is white. He has more white companions and friends than colored. He goes where he will in New York City and naturally meets no Color Line, for the simple and sufficient reason that he isn't "colored"; he feels his new freedom in bitter contrast to what he was born to in Georgia. This is perfectly natural and he does what anyone else of his complexion would do.

But it is fantastic to assume that this has anything to do with the color problem in the United States. It naturally makes Mr. White an extreme opponent of any segregation based on a myth of race. But this argument does not apply to Schuyler or Miller or me. Moreover, Mr. White knows this. He moved once into a white apartment house and it went black on him. He now lives in a colored apartment house with attendant limitations. He once took a friend to dine with him at the celebrated café of the Lafayette Hotel, where he had often been welcomed. The management humiliated him by refusing to serve Roland Hayes.

The attitudes of Schuyler and Kelly Miller are historically based on the amiable assumption that there is little or no segregation in the North, and that agitation and a firm stand is making this disappear; that obvious desert and accomplishment by Negroes can break down prejudice. This is a fable. I once believed it passionately. It may become true in 250 or 1,000 years. Now it is not true. No black man whatever his culture or ability is today in America regarded as a man by any considerable number of white Americans. The difference between North and South in the matter of segregation is largely a difference of degree; of wide degree certainly, but still of degree.

In the North, neither Schuyler nor Kelly Miller nor anyone with a visible admixture of Negro blood can frequent hotels or restaurants. They have difficulty in finding dwelling places in better class neighborhoods. They occupy "Lower 1" on Pullmans, and if they are wise, they do not go into dining cars when any large number of white people is there. Their children either go to colored schools or to schools nominally for both races, but actually attended almost exclusively by colored children. In other words, they are confined by unyielding public opinion to a Negro world. They earn a living on colored newspapers or in colored colleges, or other racial institutions. They treat colored patients and preach to colored pews. Not one of the 12 colored Ph.D.'s of last year, trained by highest American and European standards, is going to get a job in any white university. Even when Negroes in the North work side by side with whites, they are segregated. like the postal clerks, or refused by white unions or denied merited promotion.

No matter how much we may fulminate about "No segregation," there stand the flat facts. Moreover, this situation has in the last quarter century been steadily growing worse. Mr. Spingarn may ask judicially as to whether or not the N.A.A.C.P. should change its attitude toward segregation. The point that he does not realize is that segregation has changed its attitude toward the N.A.A.C.P. The higher the Negro climbs or tries to climb, the more pitiless and unyielding the color ban. Segregation may be just as evil today as it was in 1910, but it is more insistent, more prevalent and more unassailable by appeal or argument. The pressing problem is: What are we going to do about it?

In 1910, colored men could be entertained in the best hotels in Cleveland, Detroit and Chicago. Today, there is not a single Northern city, except New York, where a Negro can be a guest at a first-class hotel. Not even in Boston is he welcome; and in New York, the number of hotels where he can go is very small. Roland Hayes was unable to get regular hotel accommodations, and Dr. Moton only succeeds by powerful white influence and by refraining from use of the public dining room or the public lobbies.

If as Spingarn asserts, the N.A.A.C.P. has conducted a quarter-century campaign against segregation, the net result has been a little less than nothing. We have by legal action steadied the foundation so that in the future, segregation must be by wish and will and not law, but beyond that we have not made the slightest impress on the determination of the overwhelming mass of white Americans not to treat Negroes as men.

These are unpleasant facts. We do not like to voice them. The theory is that by maintaining certain fictions of law and administration, by whistling and keeping our courage up, we can stand on the "principle" of no segregation and wait until public opinion meets our position. But can we do this? When we were living in times of prosperity; when we were making post-war incomes; when our labor was in demand, we perhaps could afford to wait. But today, faced by starvation and economic upheaval, and by the question of being able to survive at all in this land in the reconstruction that is upon us, it is ridiculous not to see, and criminal not to tell, the colored people that they can not base their salvation upon the empty reiteration of a slogan.

What then can we do? The only thing that we not only can, but must do, is voluntarily and insistently to organize our economic and social power, no matter how much segregation it involves. Learn to associate with ourselves and to train ourselves for effective association. Organize our strength as consumers; learn to co-operate and use machines and power as producers; train ourselves in methods of democratic control within our own group. Run and support our own institutions.

We are doing this partially now, only we are doing it under a peculiar attitude of protest, and with only transient and distracted interest. A number of excellent young gentlemen in Washington, having formed a Negro Alliance, proceed to read me out of the congregation of the righteous because I dare even discuss segregation. But who are these young men? The products of a segregated school system; the

talent selected by Negro teachers; the persons who can today, in nine cases out of ten, earn only a living through segregated Negro social institutions. These are the men who are yelling against segregation. If most of them had been educated in the mixed schools in New York instead of the segregated schools of Washington, they never would have seen college, because Washington picks out and sends ten times as many Negroes to college as New York does.

It would, of course, be full easy to deny that this voluntary association for great social and economic ends is segregation; and if I had done this in the beginning of this debate, many people would have been easily deceived, and would have yelled "No segregation" with one side of their mouths and "Race pride and Race initiative" with the other side. No such distinction can possibly be drawn. Segregation may be compulsory by law or it may be compulsory by economic or social condition, or it may be a matter of free choice. At any rate, it is the separation of human beings and separation despite the will to humanity. Such separation is evil; it leads to jealousy, greed, nationalism and war; and yet it is today and in this world inevitable; inevitable to Jews because of Hitler; inevitable to Japanese because of white Europe; inevitable to Russia because of organized greed over all the white world; inevitable to Ethiopia because of white armies and navies; inevitable, because without it, the American Negro will suffer evils greater than any possible evil of separation: we would suffer the loss of self-respect, the lack of faith in ourselves, the lack of knowledge about ourselves, the lack of ability to make a decent living by our own efforts and not by philanthropy.

This situation has been plunged into crisis and precipitated to an open demand for thought and action by the Depression and the New Deal. The government, national and state, is helping and guiding the individual. It has entered and entered for good into the social and economic organization of life. We could wish, we could pray, that this entrance could absolutely ignore lines of race and color, but we know perfectly well it does not and will not, and with the present American opinion, it cannot. The question is then, are we going to stand out and refuse the inevitable and inescapable government aid because we first wish to abolish the Color Line? This is not simply tilting at windmills; it is, if we are not careful, committing race suicide.

"NO SEGREGATION"

BACK of all slogans lies the difficulty that the meanings may change without changing the words. For instance, "no segregation" may mean two very different things:

1. A chance for the Negro to advance without the hindrances which arise when he is segregated from the main group, and the main social institutions upon which society depends. He becomes, thus, an outsider, a hanger on, with no chance to function properly as a man.

2. It may mean utter lack of faith of Negroes in Negroes, and the desire to escape into another group, shirking, on the other hand, all responsibility for ignorance, degradation and lack of experience among Negroes, while asking admission into the other group on terms of full equality and with full chance for individual development.

It is in the first sense that I have always believed and used the slogan: "No Segregation." On the other hand, in the second sense, I have no desire or right to hinder or estop those persons who do not want to be Negroes. But I am compelled to ask the very plain and pertinent question: Assuming for the moment that the group into which you demand admission does not want you, what are you going to do about it? Can you demand that they want you? Can you make them by law or public opinion admit you when they are supreme over this same public opinion and make these laws? Manifestly, you cannot. Manifestly your admission to the other group on the basis of your individual desert and wish, can only be accomplished if they, too, join in the wish to have you. If they do so join, all problems based mostly on race and color disappear, and there remains only the human problems of social uplift and intelligence and group action. But there is in the United States today no sign that this objection to the social and even civic recognition of persons of Negro blood is going to occur during the life of persons now living. In which case there can be only one meaning to the slogan "No Segregation;" and that is, no hindrance to my effort to be a man. If you do not wish to associate with me, I am more than willing to associate with myself. Indeed, I deem it a privilege to work with and for Negroes, only asking that my hands be not tied nor my feet hobbled.

OBJECTS OF SEGREGATION

WHAT is the object of those persons who insist by law, custom and propaganda to keep the American Negro separate in rights and privileges from other citizens of the United States? The real object, confessed or semiconscious, is to so isolate the Negro that he will be spiritually bankrupt, physically degenerate, and economically dependent.

Against this it is the bounden duty of every Negro and every enlightened American to protest; to oppose the policy so far as it is manifest by laws; to agitate against customs by revealing facts; and to appeal to the sense of decency and justice in all American citizens.

I have never known an American Negro who did not agree that this was a proper program. Some have disagreed as to the emphasis to be put on this and that method of protest; on the efficacy of any appeal against American prejudice; but all Negroes have agreed that segregation is bad and should be opposed.

Suppose, however, that this appeal is ineffective or nearly so? What is the Negro going to do? There is one thing that he can or must do, and that is to see to it that segregation does *not* undermine his health; does *not* leave him spiritually bankrupt; and does *not* make him an economic slave; and he must do this at any cost.

If he cannot live in sanitary and decent sections of a city, he must build his own residential quarters, and raise and keep them on a plane fit for living. If he cannot educate his children in decent schools with other children, he must, nevertheless, educate his children in decent Negro schools and arrange and conduct and oversee such schools. If he cannot enter American industry at a living wage, or find work suited to his education and talent, or receive promotion and advancement according to his desserts, he must organize his own economic life so that just as far as possible these discriminations will not reduce him to abject exploitation.

Everyone of these movements on the part of colored people are not only necessary, but inevitable. And at the same time, they involve more or less active segregation and acquiescence in segregation.

Here again, if there be any number of American Negroes who have not in practical life made this fight of self-segregation and self-association against the compulsory segregation forced upon them, I am unacquainted with such persons. They may, of course, explain their compulsory retreat from a great ideal, by calling segregation by some other name. They may affirm with fierce insistency that they will never, no never, under any circumstances acquiesce in segregation. But if they live in the United States in the year of our Lord 1934, or in any previous year since the foundation of the government, they are segregated; they accept segregation, and they segregate themselves, because they must. From this dilemma I see no issue.

BOYCOTT WHITHER does all this sudden talk of segregation lead? May I illustrate by an appositive example. Several times THE CRISIS has commended what seemed to us the epoch-making work of The *Chicago Whip* when it instituted boycotts against stores in the black belt which refused to employ Negro clerks. Recently, in Washington, a group of young intellectuals sought to do the same thing but fell afoul of the ordinances against picketing. These efforts illustrate the use of mass action by Negroes who take advantage of segregation in order to strengthen their economic foundation. The Chicago success was applauded by every Negro in the land and the Washington failure deserved success. Today the same sort of move is being made in Richmond.

Yet, mind you, both these efforts were efforts toward segregation. The movement meant, in essence, Negro clerks for Negro customers. Of course, this was not directly said but this is what it amounted to. The proponents knew that Negro clerks would only be hired if Negro customers demanded it, and if the Negro customers, as happened in some cases, did not want to be waited on by Negro clerks, or even felt insulted if the Negro clerk came to them, then the proprietors had a perfect right to refuse to employ Negro clerks. Indeed, this happened in several cases in Harlem, New York.

And yet given the practically compulsory segregation of residence, and the Negro race is not only justified but compelled to invoke the additional gesture which involves segregation by asking Negro clerks for Negro customers. Of course, the logical demand of those who refuse to contemplate any measure of segregation, would be to demand the employment of Negro clerks everywhere in the city, and in all stores, at least in the same proportion that the Negro population bears to the total population. This was not demanded because such a demand would be futile and have no implement for its enforcement. But you can enforce the employment of Negroes by commercial houses in a Negro community and this ought to be done and must be done, and this use of the boycott by American Negroes must be widened and systematized, with care, of course, to avoid the ridiculous laws which make boycotts in so many cases illegal.

The funny postscript to all this, is that the same group of young Negroes who sought in Washington to fight segregation with segregation, or better to build a decent living on compulsory segregation, immediately set up a yell of "No Segregation," when they read THE CRISIS.

INTEGRATION EXTREME opponents of segregation act as though there was but one solution of the race problem, and that, complete integration of the black race with the white race in America, with no distinction of color in political, civil or social life. There is no doubt but what this is the great end toward which humanity is tending, and that so long as there are artificially emphasized differences of nationality, race and color, not to mention the fundamental discriminations of economic class, there will be no real Humanity.

On the other hand, it is just as clear, that not for a century and more probably not for ten centuries, will any such consummation be reached. No person born will ever live to see national and racial distinctions altogether abolished, and economic distinctions will last many a day.

Since this is true, the practical problem that faces us is not a choice between segregation and no segregation, between compulsory interferences with human intercourse and complete liberty of contact; the thing that faces us is given varying degrees of segregation. How shall we conduct ourselves so that in the end human differences will not be emphasized at the expense of human advance.

It is perfectly certain that, not only shall we be compelled to submit to much segregation, but that sometimes it will be necessary to our survival and a step toward the ultimate breaking down of barriers, to increase by voluntary action our separation from our fellowmen.

When my room-mate gets too noisy and dirty, I leave him; when my neighbors get too annoying and insulting I seek another home; when white Americans refuse to treat me as a man, I will cut my intercourse with white Americans to the minimum demanded by decent living.

It may be and often has been true that oppression and insult have become so intense and so unremitting that there is no alternative left to self-respecting men but to herd by themselves in self-defense, until the attitude of the world changes. It happens that today is peculiarly a day when such voluntary union for self-expression and self-defense is forced upon large numbers of people. We may rail against this. We may say that it is not our fault, and it certainly is not. Nevertheless, to do nothing in the face of it: to accept opposition without united counter opposition is the program of fools.

Moreover if association and contact with Negroes is distasteful to you, what is it to white people? Remember that the white people of America will certainly never want us until we want ourselves. We excuse ourselves in this case and say we do not hate Negroes but we do hate their condition, and immediately the answer is thrown back on us in the very words. Whose job is it to change that condition? The job of the white people or the job of the black people themselves, and especially of their uplifted classes?

ETHICS IN EDUCATION A PUZZLING problem of ethics has arisen in one of the largest Negro universities. A graduate student of unblemished character and excellent scholarship sent a letter to the public press condemning certain occurences in the University. The University immediately asked this student to withdraw.

There comes now the nice question as to why he was asked to withdraw? Was it because what he said in the letter was untrue, or was it because it was true? If it was untrue, would not a sufficient answer have been a publication of the exact truth, and then perhaps an investigation as to how far the student had deliberately lied or had been mistaken. It seems, however, fortunately or unfortunately, that the student charge was true, certainly in its essential particulars, and that he was compelled to withdraw because this expenditure was "bad publicity" for the institution. This raises a very grave question of ethics in an institution of learning for Negro youth. If the truth about a situation in a university is bad publicity, the way to attack it is to change that truth and reform or not repeat the facts upon which it is based. But it is certainly an extraordinary thing to try to defend an institution by punishing a good student for telling what the university knows is true. Under such circumstances, the student who has been made to suffer ought to receive welcome and sufficient scholarship funds to pursue his work in every Negro university worth a name, not to mention white schools.

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